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PURĀṆA LITERATURE AS KNOWN TO BALLĀLASENA.

BY

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Of the learned kings of Bengal, whose distinct contributions to Sanskrit literature have added to the literary treasure of the province, Ballālasena of the Sena dynasty should be assigned the foremost place. He flourished about the middle of the twelfth century A.D. and is said to have written four well-known digests, *viz.*, *Ācārasāgara*, *Pratiṣṭhāsāgara*, *Dānasāgara* and *Adbhuta-sāgara*. Of these four works, the first two are known only by name from references and quotations, no Mss. of these having yet come to light; a Ms. of the third has been preserved in two parts in the India Office Library, London; and the fourth has been edited by Muralīdhara Jhā and published by Prabhākarī & Co., Benares, 1905.

Towards the beginning of the *Dānasāgara*[1] we are informed that Ballālasena found an able teacher (guru) in Aniruddha-bhaṭṭa, a profound scholar deserving comparison with Bṛhaspati, and learnt from him the essence of the entire Purāṇa and Smṛti literature.[2] This information supplied by Ballālasena himself of his own erudition in the two branches of Sanskrit literature is

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1. Mss. nos. 719-720, India Office Library, London. Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue*, nos. 1704-5.

2. *Cf.* vṛtrārer iva gīṣpatir narapater yasyāniruddho guruḥ||
adhigatasakalapurāṇasmṛtisāraḥ śraddhayā guror asmāt|
............dānanibandhaṃ vidhatte............||
Dānasāgara, fol. 1b-2a.

It is often said that the *Dānasāgara* ascribed to Ballālasena was really written by Aniruddhabhaṭṭa and passed in the name of his royal patron (*cf.*, for example, 'viṣṇurahasyasyānārṣatvasya dānasāgare aniruddhabhaṭṭena abhihitatvāc ca',—*Smṛtitattva*, II, 44). But from the lines quoted above it would appear that though Aniruddhabhaṭṭa was Ballālasena's teacher, he had little to do with the authorship of the work.

corroborated by the copious quotations from numerous Purāṇic and Smṛti works as well as by the valuable remarks he makes in his *Dānasāgara* on the contents and authenticity of a number of Purāṇas. These remarks, which are the results of a highly critical study of the Purāṇas, reveal the character of these works in his days and are consequently of immense importance for the study of the Purāṇa literature.

Before taking up the topics dealt with in the *Dānasāgara* Ballālasena gives an account of himself and his family, names the works consulted in writing the digest, enumerates the different kinds of gifts, and names those Purāṇas, or parts thereof, which he rejected as unreliable. Among the works used in the *Dānasāgara* the author includes the following Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas:

> *Brāhma, Vārāha, Āgneya, Bhaviṣya, Mātsya, Vāmana, Vāyavīya, Mārkaṇḍeya, Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Skānda, Pādma, Kaurma, Ādya* (i.e. *Ādi*), *Śāmba, Kālikā, Nandi, Āditya, Nārasiṁha, Viṣṇudharmottara* declared by Mārkaṇḍeya (mārkaṇḍeyakṛta), and *Viṣṇudharma.*

Of the Upapurāṇas beginning with the *Ādya* the author says that these works contained directions on gifts and were enumerated in the *Kūrma* and the *Ādipurāṇa.*[1]

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1. brāhmaṃ vārāham āgneyaṃ bhaviṣyaṃ mātsyam eva ca|
vāmanaṃ nāradīyaṃ ca mārkaṇḍeyaṃ ca vaiṣṇavaṃ||
śaivaṃ skāndaṃ ca pādmaṃ ca purāṇaṃ kaurmam eva ca|
purāṇāni tathā kūrmapurāṇādipurāṇayoḥ|
uktānyupapurāṇāni vyaktadānavidhīni ca||
ādyaṃ purāṇaṃ śāṃbaṃ ca kālikā[hva]yam eva ca|
nandim ādityasamjñaṃ ca nārasihmaṃ tathaiva ca||
mārkaṇḍeyakṛtaṃ tadva (? tadvad) viṣṇudharmottarā[hva]yaṃ|
śāstraṃ ca viṣṇudharmākhyaṃ..........................||
..................ityālocya purāṇopapurāṇaśrutisaṃhitāḥ|
....

Dānasāgara, 2a-b.

The conjunct consonant preceding 'ya' in 'kālikā [ ] yaṃ in the Ms. is too difficult to be deciphered. Though it may be read both as 'hva' and 'dva', the former reading must be accepted; because, of the *Kūrma* and the *Ādipurāṇa* which are mentioned as containing the names of Upapurāṇas, the former (Vaṅga. ed.)

In the *Adbhutasāgara* also the author gives a similar list of quoted authorities including the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, *Skandapurāṇa*, *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, *Ādyapurāṇa*, *Agnipurāṇa*, *Padmapurāṇa*, *Matsyapurāṇa* and *Viṣṇudharmottara*.[1] But an examination of the *Dānasāgara* and the *Adbhutasāgara* shows that both these works have verses from such Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas as have not been mentioned in the lists. Thus, the *Dānasāgara* draws upon a *Liṅgapurāṇa*, and the *Adbhutasāgara* upon the *Devī*, *Viṣṇu*, *Nandī*, *Vāyu*, *Āditya*, *Liṅga* and *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*. The exclusion of the names of these Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas from the lists may be due either to the inadvertence of the author or to the insertion of verses of these works by people other than the author. Though such incomplete lists are to be found in other Sanskrit works also, a consideration of Ballālasena's critical acumen and of the fact that Lakṣmaṇasena completed this work left unfinished by its author[2], tempts us to suppose that most probably it was Lakṣmaṇasena who revised and improved with further addition of materials not only the *Adbhutasāgara* but also the other works of his father. So, be it Ballālasena himself or his son who may have put the verses of the above-mentioned Purāṇic works into the *Dānasāgara* and the *Adbhutasāgara*, the insertion was made not later than the middle of the 12th century.

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gives a list of these works in Pūrvabhāga, Chap. I, verses 17-20 and reads 'kālikāhvayaṃ'. As we have not been able to find within our reach a printed copy or a Ms. of the *Ādipurāṇa*, a work quite different from the later *Ādi* published by the Veṅkaṭeśvara Press, Bombay, we are quite ignorant of its reading. The reading 'kālikāhvayaṃ', however, is further supported by the word 'viṣṇudharmottarā [hva] yaṃ' in which the conjunct consonant preceding 'ya' and written in exactly the same way as that before 'ya' in 'kālikā [] yaṃ' must be read as 'hva' and not as 'dva'. Eggeling also accepts the reading 'kālikāhvayaṃ' in his *India Office Catalogue*, Part III, p. 543.

1. See *Adbhutasāgara*, pp. 2-3.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 4—

granthe' sminn asamāpta eva tanaye sāmrājyalakṣmīṃ
mudā......asthāpayat|
....gaṅgāyāṃ viracayya nirjarapuraṃ bhāryānuyāto
gataḥ||
śrīmallakṣmaṇasenabhūpatir atiślāghyo yadudyogato
niṣpanno'dbhutasāgaraḥ kṛtir asau vallālabhūmībhujaḥ||

Interesting information about the Purāṇas is supplied by Ballālasena when he refers to the contents of a few Purāṇic works by way of explaining why he rejected them partly or wholly. He says that though the *Ādipurāṇa* was well-known for its treatment of gifts divided according to the division of the year, it was slightly touched upon in the *Dānasāgara*, because its contents were already fully utilised in the *Ācārasāgara*; the *Bhāgavata*, the *Brahmāṇḍa* and the *Nāradīyapurāṇa* did not contain any chapter on gifts and were consequently set aside; the *Liṅgapurāṇa*, whose volume was expanded by the chapters on great gifts (mahādāna) treated of in the *Matsyapurāṇa* and which was thus no better than a digest on gifts, was not drawn upon (na nibaddhaṃ), because the substance of its contents was already obtained from other Purāṇas; the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* was utilised upto the chapters dealing with saptamī-(kalpa), while those on the aṣṭamī-and navamī-(kalpa) were rejected on account of their imbibing Tāntric influence; the *Viṣṇurahasya* and the *Śiva-rahasya* which were famous among the people, were mere compilations and were consequently not utilised; and though the *Bhaviṣyottara* was famous for its customary laws (or was popularly followed) and did not contradict good customs, it was avoided in the *Dānasāgara* for want of sufficient evidence to prove its authenticity.[1] It is to be noted that Ballālasena says nothing of

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1. śrutānyādipurāṇe tu dānānyabdavibhāgataḥ|
ācārasāgaroktatvānna kīrtyante' tra kṛtsnaśaḥ|
bhāgavataṃ ca purāṇaṃ brahmāṇḍaṃ caiva nāradīyaṃ ca|
dānavidhiśūnyam etat trayam iha na nibandha(?ddha)m avadhārya|
bṛhad api liṅgapurāṇaṃ matsyapurāṇoditair mahādānaiḥ|
avadhā(dhī?)rya labdhasāradānanibandhetaranibandhaṃ|
saptamyavadhi purāṇaṃ bhaviṣyam api saṃgṛhītam atiyatnāt|
tyaktvāṣṭamīnavamyoḥ (˙myau) kanyau ('lau) pāṣaṇḍibhir grastau (?oste)|
loke prasiddham etad viṣṇurahasyaṃ ca śivarahasyaṃ ca|
dvayam iha na parigṛhītam saṃgraharūpatvam avadhārya|
bhaviṣyottaram ācāraprasiddham avirodhi ca|
prāmāṇyam jñāpakādṛṣṭer granthād asmāt pṛthak kṛtam|
Dānasāgara, fol. 3b.

Eggeling would like to read the word 'labdhasāra etc.' in line 6 as 'labdhasāraṃ dana°'—See *India Office Catalogue*, Part III,

the *Brahmavaivarta* and the (to him) genuine *Garuḍapurāṇa*, though he does not draw upon them in his *Dānasāgara* or *Adbhutasāgara*.

Next Ballālasena names a set of Purāṇas rejected by him as spurious, viz., *Tārkṣya* (i.e., *Gāruḍa*), *Brāhma*, *Āgneya*, *Vaiṣṇava* consisting of 23,000 ślokas, and *Liṅga* of 6,000 ślokas; and in connection with their contents he says that these works, dealing with initiation, consecration, ways of salvation for the Tāntriks, testing of gems, fictitious genealogies, lexicography, grammar etc. and containing irrelevant and contradictory statements, were used as means of deception by Mīnaketanas and others who were hypocrites, heretics and pseudo-ascetics[1]. By his remark that due to its wide circulation the *Skandapurāṇa* existed in more parts than one, and that three of its parts dealt with the accounts (kathā) of Pauṇḍra, Revā, and Avanti,[2] Ballālasena seems to include those three parts among the spurious Purāṇas.

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p. 544. The last line should be read as 'prāmāṇyajñāpakā°' Eggeling reads it as 'prāmāṇyaṃ jñāpakādṛṣṭair granthād° etc.'.

1. tārkṣyaṃ purāṇam aparaṃ brāhmam āgneyam eva ca|
trayoviṁśatisāhasraṃ purāṇam api vaiṣṇavaṃ|
ṣaṭsahasramitaṃ liṅgam purāṇam aparam tathā|
dīkṣāpratiṣṭhāpāṣaṇḍamuktiratnaparīkṣaṇaiḥ|
mṛṣā vaṁśānucaritaiḥ kośavyākaraṇādibhiḥ|
asaṅgatakathābandhaparasparavirodhitaḥ|
tanmīnaketanādīnāṃ bhaṇḍapāṣaṇḍaliṅgināṃ|
lokavañcanam ālokya sarvam evāvarī (?dhī)ritam|
Dānasāgara, fol. 3b-4a.

In line 6 Eggeling reads °virodhataḥ.—*India Office Catalogue*, part III, p. 544.

It is to be noted that though Ballālasena expressly says here that he rejected the '*Tārkṣya*,' '*Brāhma*', '*Āgneya*', '*Vaiṣṇava*' and '*Liṅga*' as spurious and deceptive, he draws considerably upon a *Brahma*, an *Agni* and a *Viṣṇupurāṇa* in his *Dānasāgara* and includes them in the list of Purāṇas used in writing the digest. So, it is sure that he knew another set of Purāṇas which he considered genuine. The word 'apara' used in the above verses is important in this connection.

2. pracaradrūpataḥ skandapurāṇaikāṁśato'dhikam|
yatkhaṇḍatritayam pauṇḍrarevāvantikathāśrayam||
Dānasāgara, fol. 3b.

Regarding the *Devīpurāṇa* Ballālasena says that due to its treatment of sinful acts it was excluded from the lists of Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas and that it was rejected by him because of its Tāntric character[1].

We have noted above Ballālasena's remarks on the character and contents of the different Purāṇas. We shall now examine these remarks and the Purāṇa quotations made in the *Dānasāgara* and the *Adbhutasāgara* in order to understand the nature and contents of the different Purāṇas known to Ballālasena as well as to see whether any of those Purāṇas have come down to us. Let us take up the Mahāpurāṇas here :—

(1) *Agnipurāṇa* or *Āgneya*.—Ballālasena quotes in his *Dānasāgara* and *Adbhutasāgara* a large number of verses from an *Agnipurāṇa*, but, except only a few scattered lines in *Dānasāgara*, fol. 96-97b, none of these quoted verses is found in the printed *Agni*. So, the *Agnipurāṇa* drawn upon by Ballālasena was different from our present *Agni*.

An examination of the quoted verses shows that the earlier *Agni* (drawn upon by Ballālasena) contained a large number of chapters on the methods and merits of making different kinds of gifts[2] and on adbhuta-śānti; that the more important gifts were dealt with elaborately in distinctly separate sections, short or long; and that in a good number of chapters the interlocutors were Vaśiṣṭha and king Aṃbarīṣa. Regarding the stories occurring in the earlier *Agni*, the *Adbhutasāgara* supplies us with valuable information not only by quoting verses but also by referring to the topics or stories dealt with in the chapters from which these verses were taken. From these quotations and references we understand that the Purāṇa contained a long story

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1. tattatpurāṇopapurāṇasamkhyā
   vahiṣkṛtam kalmaṣakarmayogāt|
   pāṣaṇḍaśāstrānumatam nirūpya
   devīpurāṇam na nibandha (?ddha)matra|

Dānasāgara, fol. 4a.

2. *Viz.*, guḍadhenudāna, tiladhenudāna, ghṛtadhenudāna, alaṅkṛtagavīdāna, kapilagavīdāna, ubhayatomukhīdāna, gosahasradāna, alaṅkṛtavṛṣadāna, analaṅkṛtavṛṣadāna, gavāhnikadāna, annadāna, vastradāna, hemadāna, rūpyadāna, maṇidāna, maṭhapratiśrayadāna, kāṣṭhadāna, dāsīdāna, tiladāna, kṛṣṇājinadāna, upānaddāna, aśvadāna, mahiṣīdāna, jaladhenudāna.

of the birth of Vāmana (vāmanotpatti) and the killing of Hiraṇyakaśipu (hiraṇyakaśipuvadha) dealt most propably in more chapters than one.[1] It also contained the story of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, because there is mention of Rāvaṇa's fight with Indra and the latter's defeat, and of Trijaṭā's detailed dream about the fate of Rāvaṇa and his capital.[2] The quoted verses further show that the chapter or chapters on Hiraṇyakaśipuvadha had a large number of verses, if not all, in common with *Matsyapurāṇa* (Vaṅga. ed.) 161-13, *Padmapurāṇa* (Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa; Ānandāśrama ed.) 42 and *Harivaṁśa* (Vaṅga. ed.) III, 41-47[3] and that the section on Trijaṭā-svapna had many verses in common with the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[4]

The present spurious *Agni*, though greatly different from the earlier one, is not totally an independent work. From a comparison between the present *Agni* and the verses quoted in the Nibandhas from the earlier *Agni* it becomes evident that the former is the result of a destructive recast to which the latter was subjected. How in this recast the form of the older Purāṇa was changed is best exemplified by a comparison between a long passage, or rather an entire chapter, quoted from the '*Agnipurāṇa*' in *Dānasāgara*, fol. 96a-97b and chapter 210 of the present *Agni* (Vaṅga. ed.). In the quoted passage Vaśiṣṭha is found to speak to the king (Aṃbarīṣa) on the gift of a cow made of raw sugar (guḍadhenudāna), but in the said chapter of the present *Agni*, though all the marks proving the existence of the interlocution between Vaśiṣṭha and king Aṃbarīṣa have been eliminated many verses have been retained, e. g. *Agni* 210 verses 13b-17a, 19-21, 22b, 23 and 25-29a tally with some of the verses quoted in the *Dānasāgara* (fol. 96a-97b). In these common lines even, the readings differ disappointingly. Sometimes the subject-matter of a good number of stanzas in the *Dānasāgara* is found pressed into a much lesser number of stanzas in the printed edition.

Though Ballālasena drew upon an earlier *Agni*, he was quite familiar with the present one, because (i) the contents of

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1. See *Adbhutasāgara*, pp. 19, 50, 320, 708 etc.

2. *Adbhutasāgara*, pp. 500, 501 etc.

3. See *Adbhutasāgara*, pp. 50-51 (harivaṁśa-matsyapurāṇa-padmapurāṇeṣu hiraṇyakaśipuvadhanimittaṃ — somasya etc.; āgneyapurāṇe ca—somasya etc.); also pp. 320, 378, 412 etc.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. 512, 513 etc.

the spurious *Agni* given in *Dānasāgara*, fol. 4a[1] tally fully with those of the present one, (ii) the present *Agni* has Tāntric (pāṣaṇḍa) elements, and (iii) the extant *Agni* also is a spurious work[2].

(2) *Bhāgavatapurāṇa* or *Bhāgavata*.—The present *Bhāgavata* was known to Ballālasena, because (i) it does not contain any chapter on gifts (cf. dānavidhiśūnyaṃ—*Dānasāgara* fol. 3b), (ii) the verses quoted from the '*Bhāgavata*' in the *Adbhutasāgara* are all, with the exception of only four lines, found in our present Bhāgavata (Vaṅga. ed., I, 14 and III, 15), and (iii) the stories and episodes (*viz.*, vāsudevotkrānti, hiraṇya-kaśipūtpatti, hiraṇyākṣotpatti, kaṁsāriṣṭadarśana, rāvaṇotpatti, vṛṣṇivaṁśakṣaya and the war among the Vṛṣṇis) referred to in connection with the quoted verses occur in *Bhāg*. I, 14 and III, 13-19. It is however not meant that the *Bhāgavata* of Ballāla's time has come down to us totally unaffected by any changes or interpolations. On the other hand, it is highly probable that occasional changes and interpolations were made even after the 12th century A.D.

(3) *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa*.—The fact that the verses on gifts quoted from a '*Bhaviṣyapurāṇa*' in the *Dānasāgara* are, with a very few exceptions, found in our present *Bhaviṣya* (Veṅkaṭ. ed.) I (Brāhma Parvan), chaps. 64, 93, 103, 118 and 181 and the information that the *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* dealt, among other things, with the different tithi-kalpas and that the chapters on the aṣṭamī- and navamī- kalpa were influenced by Tāntricism, show that many of the chapters of Ballālasena's *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* have been retained in our present work which seems to have preserved in its Brāhma-parvan the major portion of the earlier *Bhaviṣya* of five Parvans.[3] In his *Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss.* ABB, Vol. V (no. 3738), Haraprasad Shastri describes a complete Ms. of a *Bhaviṣyapurāṇa* which consists of five Parvans, *viz.*, Brāhma, Vaiṣṇava, Śaiva, Tvāṣṭra and Pratisarga, deals with the different tithi-kalpas, the stories of Rudra and Sūrya, and so forth, and is really ādityacaritaprāya. Shastri's description of the Ms. further

1. *See* foot-note 1 on p. 133.

2. *See* my essay on the *Agnipurāṇa* in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XII, pp. 683f.

3. For an analysis of the printed *Bhaviṣya* (Veṅkaṭeśvara Press edition) see my essay in *Indian Culture*, III, pp. 223f.

shows that (*i*) the Brāhma-parvan ends with the pratipat-kalpa, the interlocutors being Śatānīka and Sumantu; (*ii*) the Viṣṇu-parvan deals with the remaining tithi-kalpas, has Śatānīka and Sumantu (?) as interlocutors, and consists of 31 chapters; (*iii*) the Rudra-parvan has Sumantu and Śatānīka as interlocutors, deals with the origin of Rudra, Datta and others, and consists of 3 chapters; (*iv*) the Tvaṣṭṛ-parvan has Śatānīka as one of the interlocutors, contains a sūrya-śuka-saṁvāda, and deals with the story of the marriage between Sūrya and Saṁjñā (daughter of Tvaṣṭṛ), Śuka's going to the solar region (sūrya-maṇḍala), etc.; and (*v*) the Pratisarga-parvan begins with the Sun as an interlocutor, contains a sūrya-śuka-saṁvāda, and ends with the return of Śuka from the solar region. Much of the above contents is found in the Brāhma-parvan of the printed *Bhaviṣya*.

(4) *Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*.—The present *Brahmāṇḍa* (Veṅkaṭ. ed.) which is a very early work and which, in accordance with the information contained in *Dānasāgara*. fol. 3b, does not contain any chapter on gifts, was certainly known to Ballālasena in some form or other. The fact that of the 23 lines on kāyariṣṭādbhuta quoted in the *Adbhutasāgara* from the '*Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*' not a single is found in the present *Brahmāṇḍa*, while as many as 17 are found in *Vāyu* 19, can be explained by saying that the texts of the *Vāyu* and *Brahmāṇḍa* being originally identical, the Ms. of the latter used by Ballālasena contained the chapter on kāyariṣṭādbhuta which has been lost from our printed *Brahmāṇḍa*.

(5) *Brahmapurāṇa* or *Brāhma*.—Not a single of the numerous verses quoted in the *Dānasāgara* is found in the present apocryphal *Brahma* which is called an Upapurāṇa by Narasiṁha Vājapeyin of Orissa.[1] So, it is sure that Ballālasena's genuine *Brahmapurāṇa* was quite different from the extant one. Ballālasena knew a spurious *Brahma* also, but as the contents of the spurious Purāṇas, stated generally in *Dānasāgara*, fol. 4a, do not agree even partially with those of our extant *Brahma*, it is highly probable that Ballāla's spurious *Brahma* also was a different work.

(6) *Kūrmapurāṇa* or *Kaurma*.—The present *Kūrmapurāṇa* is generally the same as that drawn upon by Ballālasena

1. *See* my essay on the *Brahmapurāṇa* in *Indian Culture*, II, pp. 235f.

in his *Dānasāgara*, because (i) the great majority of the verses quoted by him from the *'Kūrmapurāṇa'* or *'Kaurma'* is found in *Kūrma* (Vaṅga. ed.) II, chaps. 18, 26 and 44 and (ii) Ballāla refers to the list of Upapurāṇas in *Kūrma* I, 1, 17, 20, which is, therefore, of much earlier date.

(7) *Liṅgapurāṇa* or *Laiṅga*.—It has already been pointed out that the verses from the *Liṅgapurāṇa* in the *Dānasāgara* and the *Adbhutasāgara* can rightly be suspected to have been added by Lakṣmaṇasena for the following reasons: (i) the *Liṅga* is not mentioned in the lists of Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas utilised in the above-mentioned Nibandhas, and (ii) in *Dānasāgara*, fol. 3b, there are clear indications that the *Liṅga* was not drawn upon in the *Dānasāgara*.

The present *Liṅga*,[1] however, is not a late work. It was known in Ballālasena's time; because (i) the verses quoted in the *Dānasāgara* from a *'Liṅgapurāṇa'* or *'Laiṅga'* are all found in our present *Liṅga* I, 77 (on the consecration of a Liṅga) and II, 28 (on mahādāna), and those quoted in the *Adbhutasāgara* are, with only a few exceptions, found in *Liṅga* I, 91 and 10 ; and (ii) the line 'bṛhad api liṅgapurāṇam matsyapurāṇoditair mahādānaiḥ '(*Dānasāgara*, fol. 3b) points to the present *Liṅga* which deals, in chaps. 28-44 of its Uttarārdha, with the great gifts treated of in *Matsya* 274-289.

The present *Liṅga* seems to have undergone changes after Ballālasena's time. There are occasional differences in readings between the quoted verses and their parallels in the printed edition; and the verse in *Adbhutasāgara*, p. 513 with the words 'liṅgapurāṇe tripuravadhanimittakathane mayavākyaṃ' is not found in the present *Liṅga*, though it contains the story of Tripura-vadha.

Besides the present *Liṅga*, which itself is an apocryphal work,[2] Ballālasena knew another spurious *Liṅga* consisting of 6,000 ślokas and dealing with initiation, consecration etc.[3] That more *Liṅgapurāṇas* than one came into existence at a fairly early date is indicated by our present *Liṅga* itself which says 'laiṅgam

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1. Edited by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta.

2. My essay on the *Liṅgapurāṇa* will shortly be published in *Indian Culture*, Calcutta.

3. *See* foot-note 1 on p. 133.

ekādaśavidham prabhinnam dvāpare yuge' (*Liṅga* I, 39, 64a= *Skanda* VII, i, 2, 101b).

(8) *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*.—This Purāṇa is drawn upon both in the *Dānāsagara* and the *Adbhutasāgara*, and the quoted verses are all, with the exception of only ten (nine on mānuṣādbhuta in *Adbutasāgara*, p. 485 and one on p. 509), found in the extant *Mārkaṇḍeya*[1] which, therefore, is generally the same as that used by Ballālasena.

(9) *Matsyapurāṇa* or *Mātsya*.—Both in his *Dānasāgara* and *Adbhutasāgara* Ballāla draws profusely upon the *Matsyapurāṇa* by referring, in many cases, to the relevant topics and episodes, and these quoted verses are, with a very few exceptions, found in our present *Matsya*, chapters 22, 53, 67, 82-92, 115, 134, 153, 163, 172, 205-7, 228-238, 240-243, 274-289 and 290 which deal with the respective topics or episodes referred to. In my analysis of the *Matsyapurāṇa* I have already dealt with the dates of most of these chapters.[2] Those remaining (*viz.*, chaps. 134, 153, 163 and 172) are utilised below to determine the dates of a few more groups of chapters.

The story of the origin and destruction of Tripura, a city built by the demon architect Maya, is dealt with in *Matsya* 129-140. These chapters, except the interpolated portions if any, are earlier than the beginning of the 12th century A. D., for Ballālasena quotes a line from chap. 134 in connection with 'the burning of Tripura'. Chaps. 146-160 deal with the birth of the demon Tāraka and his death at the hand of Kārttikeya. Of these, only chaps. 146-148 (especially except verses 1-40 of chap. 146) and chaps. 153-160 (especially except verses 1-221 and 228b to the end of chap. 153, and verses 447-485 of chap. 154) have been borrowed by the *Padmapurāṇa* (Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa). So, the intervening chaps. 149-152, on the description of a war between the gods and demons, seem to be interpolations. As Ballālasena quotes in his *Adbhutasāgara* a line from chap. 153 by mentioning that it is taken from the episode of the war between the gods and the demons,[3] we can be sure that chaps. 146-148 and 153-160

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1. For an analysis of the *Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa*, see *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XI, pp. 108f.

2. See *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, XVII, pp. 1f.

3. *Cf. Adbhutasāgara*, p. 478- matsyapurāṇe devāsurayuddhanimittaṃ,

(especially except the verses noted above) are earlier than 1100 A.D. Again, chaps. 39-41 of the *Padmapurāṇa* (Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa), which tally considerably with chaps. 146-148 and 153-160 are to be dated between 800 and 950 A.D. and most probably in the latter half of the eighth century A.D.[1] So, *Matsya* 146-148 and 153-160 (especially except the verses noted above) are to be dated earlier than 200 A.D.

Chaps. 161-163 deal with the killing of Hiraṇyakaśipu by the Man-lion, and chap. 172, which belongs to the group consisting of the closely interrelated chaps. 169-179, with the tārakāmaya-yuddha between the gods on the one side and the demons Yakṣas, Serpents, Rākṣasas etc. on the other. As Ballālasena quotes in his *Dānasāgara* a good number of verses from chaps. 163 and 172 by expressly mentioning the stories[2] and as *Padmapurāṇa* (Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa) chaps. 42, 37-38 and 43 (verses 6b-9a and 77-85a), which are borrowed from *Matsya* 161-163, 169-178 and 174 (verses 1-13a) respectively, are to be dated between 800 and 950 A.D. and most probably in the latter half of the eighth century A.D.,[3] the above-mentioned chapters (161-163, 169-178 and verses 1-13a of chap. 179) of the *Matsyapurāṇa* must be placed earlier than 800 A.D.

A comparison between the present *Matsya* and the quoted verses shows that this Purāṇa has not suffered much through losses, though interpolations continued to be made even after the 12th century A.D.

(10) *Nāradīyapurāṇa* or *Nāradīya*.—By his statement that he did not draw upon the *Nāradīyapurāṇa* because it did not contain any chapter on gift (cf. *Dānasāgara*, fol. 3b) Ballālasena means most probably the present *Nāradīya* in which also there is no chapter on gift. As neither the *Dānasāgara* nor the *Adbhutasāgara* has even a single line from the *Nāradīya*, it is not possible to say anything definitely.

(11) *Padmapurāṇa* or *Pādma*.—This Purāṇa is drawn upon both in the *Dānasāgara* and the *Adbhutasāgara*; and the verses quoted in the former are all found in Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa, chaps.

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1. *See* my essay on the *Padmapurāṇa* in *Indian Culture*, IV, pp. 73f.

2. *See Adbhutasāgara*, pp. 20, 23, 50 etc.; and pp. 319, 358 and 701.

3. *See* my essay on the *Padmapurāṇa*.

10, 15 and 31, and those quoted in the latter are all found in chaps. 37 and 43 of the same Khaṇḍa. In connection with the quotations the following stories of the *Padmapurāṇa* have been mentioned in the *Adbhutasāgara*:

(*i*) Hiraṇyakaśipu-vadha—(*Adbhutasāgara*, pp. 20, 23 etc.)

(*ii*) Tārakāmaya-yuddha—(,, pp. 319, 332, 358 etc.)

(*iii*) Deva-parājaya—(*Adbhutasāgara*, p. 409). These stories occur in the Sṛṣṭi-khaṇḍa.

(12) *Śivapurāṇa* or *Śaiva*.—Of the 31 lines (except the repeated ones) quoted in the *Dānasāgara* from a '*Śivapurāṇa*', 27 are found in the Sanatkumāra-saṁhitā of the extant *Śiva* (Vaṅgavāsī edition). So, our present *Śiva* has portions which can rightly claim to be fairly old.[1]

(13) *Skandapurāṇa* or *Skānda*.—Ballālasena quotes numerous verses from a '*Skāndapurāṇa*' or '*Skānda*' in his Nibandhas, but none of them is found in the printed *Skanda* (Vaṅga. ed.).[2]

(14) *Tārkṣya* (i.e. *Gāruḍa*) *Purāṇa*—Ballālasena includes it among the spurious Purāṇas. Though he does not draw upon it in his Nibandhas, his enumeration of the contents of the spurious Purāṇas shows definitely that this spurious *Tārkṣya* is the same as the present *Garuḍa* which also deals with dīkṣā, pratiṣṭhā, ratnaparīkṣā, mṛṣā-vaṁśānucarita, vyākaraṇa etc.

(15) *Vāmanapurāṇa*.—This Purāṇa is drawn upon in the *Dānasāgara*, and all the quoted verses, except two, are found in chap. 96 of our present *Vāmana* (Vaṅga. ed.), which, therefore, has preserved much of its older materials.

(16) *Varāhapurāṇa* or *Vārāha*.—This Purāṇa is drawn upon in the *Dānasāgara*, and all the quoted verses are found in chaps. 205-207 of the present *Varāha* (Vaṅga. ed.) which, therefore, was known to Ballālasena in some form or other.

(17) *Vāyupurāṇa* or *Vāyavīya*.—This is a very ancient work, and most of the verses quoted by Ballālasena in his Nibandhas from a '*Vāyupurāṇa*' or '*Vāyavīya*' are found in chaps. 19 and 80 of the present *Vāyu* (Ānandāśrama edition).[3]

(18) *Viṣṇupurāṇa* or *Vaiṣṇava*.—The *Dānasāgara* and the *Adbhutasāgara* have 6 and 33 lines respectively from a

1-3. The *Śiva*, the *Skanda* and the *Vāyupurāṇa* will be analysed on other occasions.

'*Viṣṇupurāṇa*'. Of these, only two, quoted in *Dānasāgara*, fol. 21a, are found in our present *Viṣṇu* (Vaṅga. ed., III, 12, 20.). As the quoted verses in the *Adbhutasāgara* are concerned with different adbhutas (*viz.*, earth-quake, dream, and delivery), it is sure that Ballālasena used a manuscript copy of the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* which contained chapters on these topics.

The absence of chapters on adbhutas in our present Viṣṇu does not, however, prove that Ballālasena's *Viṣṇupurāṇa* was a totally different work. On the other hand, it is highly probable that Ballāla knew the extant *Viṣṇu* with a few chapters on adbhutas borrowed from the *Matsyapurāṇa* or the *Viṣṇudharmottara* or both.

Ballāla mentions a spurious *Viṣṇu* of 23,000 ślokas. It was most probably the great fame and popularity of the genuine *Viṣṇupurāṇa* that encouraged the composition of such a spurious work at a time earlier than the beginning of the 12th century A.D. As no Ms. of this spurious work has yet been found, it seems to have been lost.

The Upapurāṇas, which require very close and careful study, will be examined on other occasions.

APPENDIX.

I. Verses quoted from the *Bhāgavata*' in *Adbhutasāgara*,

p. 354 .. *Bhāgavata* I, 14, 16a.
p. 355 .. „ III, 17, 5.
p. 378 .. „ I. 14, 16b.
p. 410 .. „ III, 17, 7; & I, 14, 18a.
p. 426 .. „ I, 14, 20a.
p. 481 .. „ I, 14, 20b-c.
p. 625 .. „ I, 14, 13b.
p. 642 .. „ I, 14, 19b.
p. 643 .. „ III, 17, 13a.
p. 645 .. „ I, 14, 19b.
p. 653 .. „ III, 17, 11b; III, 17, 10.
p. 654 .. „ I, 14, 12b-13a.
p. 658 .. „ III, 17, 9; I, 14, 12a.
p. 709 .. „ III, 17, 13.
p. 710 .. „ I, 14, 15, and 17b.
p. 712 .. „ III, 17, 4.

II. For the Verses quoted in the *Dānasāgara* from the '*Bhaviṣyapurāṇa*' and traced in the Veṅkaṭ. ed. of the *Bhaviṣya* see *Indian Culture*, III, p. 228.

III. Verses quoted from the '*Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa*' in *Adbhutasāgara*,

p. 524 .. *Vāyu* 19, 22.
p. 527 .. „ 19, 31.
p. 531 .. „ 19, 21b.
p. 537 .. „ 19, 23b and 23.
p. 538 .. „ 19, 24b.
p. 539 .. „ 19, 24.
p. 542 .. „ 19, 30.
p. 544 .. „ 19, 5.
p. 545 — „ 19, 12.

IV. Verses quoted from the '*Kūrmapurāṇa*' or '*Kaurma*' in *Dānasāgara*,

fol. 9b — *Kūrma* II, 26, 57.
fol. 21a .. „ II, 18, 53.
fol. 25a .. „ II, 18, 81-82
fol. 137a .. „ II, 26, 13.
fol. 149b .. „ II, 26, 18.
fol. 154a .. „ II, 26, 17.
fol. 195a .. „ II, 44, 123 and 125-127.
fol. 242b-243a .. „ II, 26, 30-31.
fol. 246a .. „ II, 26, 25-26
fol. 252b-253a— „ II, 26, 23 and 19-21.
fol. 285a .. „ II, 26, 35.

V. Verses quoted from the '*Liṅgapurāṇa*' or '*Laiṅga*' in

(a) *Dānasāgara*,
fol. 15a-b .. *Linga* I, 77, 33b-35, and 52b-54a.
fol. 28a .. „ II, 28, 34b.

(b) *Adbhutasāgara*,
p. 507 .. *Linga* I, 91, 19 and 27.
p. 508 .. „ I, 91, 15, 29 and 16.
p. 509 .. „ I, 91, 17b, 35, 31 and 34.
p. 524 .. „ I, 91, 24.
p. 525 — cf. „ I, 91, 5.
p. 527 .. „ I, 91, 33.
p. 536 .. „ I, 9, 23b.
p. 533 .. „ I, 91, 13b.
p. 537 .. „ I, 91, 25b and 25.
p. 538 .. „ I, 91, 26b.
p. 539 .. „ I, 91, 26.
p. 541 .. „ I, 91, 13a. The line 'pivataśca' and the verse 'sadyaḥ snānānuliptasya' are not found.
p. 542 .. „ I, 91, 32.
p. 544 .. „ I, 91, 7.
p. 545 .. „ I, 91, 14.
p. 546 cf. „ I, 91, 6.
p. 548 cf. „ I, 91, 12.
p. 554 cf. „ I, 91, 11.
p. 556 .. „ I, 91, 21.
p. 712 .. „ I, 100, 9-10.

VI. Verses quoted from the '*Mārkaṇḍeyapurāṇa* in.

(a) *Dānasāgara*,
fol. 29b —*Mārkaṇḍeya* p. 16, 36b-37a.
fol. 163b .. „ 10, 57a.
fol. 189b .. „ 10, 57a.

(b) *Adbhutasāgara*,
pp. 253-4—*Mārkaṇḍeya* p. 58, 55.
pp. 254-5 .. „ 58, 6-9.
p. 256 .. „ 58, 11-13a.
p. 257 .. „ 58, 16-19a.
p. 259 .. „ 58, 20b-28.
p. 261 .. „ 58, 30-33a.
p. 262 .. „ 58, 34-36a and 37.
p. 263 .. „ 58, 38b-40a, 36b, 37a and 40b.
pp. 264-5 .. „ 58, 40b-47.
pp. 266 7 .. „ 58, 48b-53a.
pp, 267-8 .. „ 58, 79b-80, 56, 75b-79a, 65-67, and 69-73a.
p. 506 .. „ 43, 4 and 20.
p. 507 .. „ 43, 19 and 15.
p. 508 .. „ 43, 27 and 16.
p. 509 .. „ 43, 17, 18a (the line 'dṛṣṭvā tu' is not found), 29 and 31.
p. 518 .. „ 43, 35-37.
p. 523 .. „ 43, 10.
p. 524 .. „ 43, 24.
p. 525 .. „ 43, 5.
p. 527 .. „ 43, 32.
p. 528 .. „ 43, 33.
p. 530 .. „ 43, 28.
p. 531 .. „ 43, 23a.
p. 535 .. „ 43, 8.
p. 539 .. „ 43, 26.
p. 541 .. „ 43, 22 (cf. also 43, 13a.)
p. 542 .. „ 43, 30.
p. 544 .. „ 43, 7.
p. 545 .. „ 43, 14.
p. 546 .. „ 43, 6.
p. 548 .. „ 43, 12.
p. 553 .. „ 43, 9b and 11.
p. 556 .. „ 43, 9.
p. 557 .. „ 43, 21.

VII. Verses quoted from the '*Matsyapurāṇa*' or '*Mātsya*' in.

(a) *Adbhutasāgara*,

p. 5 .. *Matsya* 229, 5.
p. 6 .. „ 229, 6-9a and 9b-10a. The line 'divyam tīvraphalam' is not found.
p. 9 .. „ 228, 2-3a; 229, 12b-13a.
p. 20—cf. „ 163, 37a.
p. 23 .. „ 163, 38a.
p. 43 .. „ 163, 35.
p. 50 .. „ 163, 38b-39a.
pp. 87-88.. „ 67, 2-6,
p. 141 .. „ 163, 39b.
p. 275 .. „ 231, 5.
p. 290 .. „ 163, 37b.
p. 296—cf. „ chap. 229.
p. 302 .. „ 233, 7 and 8b.
p. 318 .. „ 233, 6; 163. 50.
p. 319 .. „ 172, 19; 231,4 (second pāda differs); 172, 18b.
p. 320 .. „ 238, 2; 163, 48b.
p. 336 .. *Matsya* 163, 42b.
p. 337 .. „ 163, 42a.
p. 353 .. „ 243, 23a and 22.
p. 356 .. „ 228, 11; 236, 5.
p. 358 .. „ 172, 13-14a.
p. 375 .. „ 233, 1a.
p. 376 .. „ 233, 1b and 2a.
p. 378 .. „ 233, 3a; 163, 43a.
p. 379 .. „ 233, 3b-4a.
p. 380 —cf. „ 233, 4b.
p. 381 .. „ 233, 9.
p. 386 .. „ 228, 21a.
p. 388 .. „ 228, 21-22a.
p. 391 .. „ 228, 22b-23.
p. 398 .. „ 228, 24-25.
p. 401 .. „ 228, 26-27.
pp. 408-409 .. „ 240, 8b-9a.
p. 410 .. „ 234, 1-3a. The line 'aśoṣyā vā' is not found.
p. 412 .. „ 234, 3b-5a.
p. 413 .. „ 228, 12b; 234, 5b-7.
p. 416 .. „ 231, 1.
p. 417 .. „ 231, 2b-3.
p. 418 .. „ 231, 6b and 8a.
p. 419 .. „ 231, 9b-11.
p. 425 .. „ 230, 1-5a.
p. 426 .. „ 163, 45b-46.
p. 427—cf. „ 230, 6a.
p. 428 .. „ 230, 8a and 7a.
p. 429 .. „ 230, 6b and 7b.
p. 430 .. „ 230, 5b.
pp. 431-2.. „ 230, 9b-12. The line 'tallingena' is not found.
p. 441 .. *Matsya* 232, 5b-6a and 11a.
p. 442 .. „ 232, 10a, 9b and 9a.
p. 443 .. „ 163, 44; 232, 6b.
p. 444 .. „ 232, 7b-8.
p. 445 .. „ 232, 11b-12a.
p. 446 .. „ 163, 49.
p. 447 .. „ 232, 12b-14.
p. 458 .. „ 238, 1.
p. 459 .. „ 238, 15a-b and 16. The verse 'svayam udghāṭite' is not found.'
p. 460 .. „ 237, 12 and 7-8. Four lines from 'dvāraprākārageheṣu' are not found.
p. 461 .. „ 163, 51.
p. 468 .. „ 228, 11b.
p. 469 .. „ 236, 2a, 3a and 4b.
p. 470 .. „ 236, 2b and 4b.
p. 471 .. „ 236, 1 and 3b-4.
p. 472 .. „ 228, 14a.
p. 478 .. „ 231, 7 and 8b-9a; 153, 175a.

p. 483 .. ,, 134, 12b.
p. 484 .. ,, 238, 10a, 9a, 10b-11a, 6b, 8, 5b and 11b.
p. 486 .. ,, 238, 15a-b and 16.
p. 490 .. cf. ,, 241, 13.
p. 492 .. ,, 241, 12.
p. 493 .. ,, 241, 14.
pp. 501-502 .. ,, 242, 19b-20.
pp. 502-503 .. ,, 242, 2b-15a.
p. 514 .. ,, 242, 17b-18 and 15b-16.
p. 560 .. ,, 235, 1-3.
p. 564 .. ,, 235, 4,
p. 583 .. ,, 237, 1-3a,
p. 584 .. ,, 237, 3b.
p. 585 .. ,, 237; 4.
p. 587 .. ,, 237, 9a and 13-14.
p. 654 cf. ,, 237, 9b.
p. 663 .. ,, 237, 5b.
p. 689 .. ,, 237, 10.
p. 698 .. ,, 237, 11.
p. 701 .. ,, 172, 15.
pp. 701-702 .. ,, 233, 7-8.
p. 713 .. ,, 233, 2b.
p. 714 .. ,, 233, 9a.
pp. 733-6 .. ,, Chap. 228 (except verses 1, 25b-26a and 29).
Two of the quoted lines *viz.*, 'ārogyadhanakāmaś ca' (*Adbhutasāgara*, p.733) and 'Kāryā mārudgaṇī' (*Adbhutasāgara*, p. 734) are not found.
p. 736 .. ,, 228, 29.
pp. 743-4 .. ,, 229, 13b-20a, 22b-24a, 20b-22a and 24b-25.
p. 751 .. ,, 229, 10b-11a.

(b) For the verses quoted from the '*Matsyapurāṇa*' or '*Mātsya*' in the *Dānasāgara* and found in the printed *Matsya*, see *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, XVII, p. 31.

VIII. For the verses quoted from the '*Padmapurāṇa*' or '*Pādma*' and traced in the printed *Padma*, see *Indian Culture*, IV, p. 93.

IX. Verses quoted from the '*Śivapurāṇa*' in *Dānasāgara*,

fol. 13b .. *Śivapurāṇa* IV (Sanatkumārasaṁhitā), 26, 58-59.
fol. 123b-124a .. ,, IV, 22 126b-128a.
fol. 126a .. ,, IV, 10, 44b-45a and 46b-48a.
fol. 137a .. ,, IV, 10, 44b-45a and 46b-48a.
fol. 154a .. ,, IV, 25, 45.
fol. 173a .. ,, IV, 10, 44b-45a and 46b-48a.
fol. 188a .. ,, IV, 22, 130b-131.
fol. 190b .. ,, IV, 22, 119 (also cf. IV, 13, 42b-43a)
fol. 286a .. ,, IV, 22, 119 also cf. IV, 13, 42b-43a.
fol. 291b-292a .. ,, IV, 20, 31; IV, 20, 9b-10a; IV, 20, 10b-c.

X. Verses quoted from the '*Vāmanapurāṇa*' in *Dānasāgara*,

fol. 5a .. *Vāmanap*. 95, 7-9
fol. 152a .. ,, 95, 44.
fol. 181a .. ,, 95, 44.
fol. 204b .. ,, 95, 44. The verse, 'gṛhakarmakarīm' is not found.
fol. 235a-b .. ,, 95, 23b-24a.
fol. 236a .. ,, 95, 24b-c and 25-26a.
fol. 236b .. ,, 95, 26b-27a and 27b-c.

fol. 237a .. „ 95, 38. The verse 'ghṛtam ca' has undoubtedly been dropped.
fol. 237b .. *Vāmanap.* 95, 39-40.
fol. 238a .. „ 95, 41 and 43.

XI. For the verses quoted from the '*Varāhapurāṇa*' in the *Dānasāgara* and traced in the printed *Varāha*, see *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, XVIII, p. 334.

XII. Verses quoted from the '*Vāyupurāṇa*' or '*Vāyavīya*' in

(a) *Dānasāgara*,
fol. 187a .. *Vāyu* 80, 59.

(b) *Adbhutasāgara*,
p. 506 .. *Vāyu* 19, 18.
p. 507 .. „ 19, 17 and 25.
p. 508 .. „ 19, 13, 27 and 14.
p. 509 .. „ 19, 16, 33 and 15. The verse 'nagnam Śravaṇakam' is not found.

XIII. For the verses quoted from 'the *Viṣṇupurāṇa*' in the *Dānasāgara* and traced in the printed *Viṣṇu*, see *Annals*, XVIII, p. 272.

HISTORICAL NOTES ON THE MUDRĀRĀKṢASA.

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We learn from the *Hero as Poet* that "Marlborough said that he knew no English History but what he had learned from Shakespeare." But in ancient India historical dramas were rare and *Mudrārākṣasa* rarer still. Of the extant political plays Viśākhadatta's is decidedly the best as the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya is in the literature of *Daṇḍanīti* and the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa among truly historical compositions. Dr. A. B. Keith characterises any attempt to distil history from the *Mudrārākṣasa* as "very dubious".[1] Mr. H.K. Deb considers the play as "abounding in historical absurdities".[2] Mr. P. L. Bhargava merely quotes the opinion of Smith and Hillebrandt that "the play, although full of imaginary details, is probably based on events which actually occurred"[3]. A better view is expounded by Mr. T. M. Sen: "In measuring the historical value of our play we should be guided by the general trend of the plot and the atmosphere pervading throughout, rather than by the personnel of the drama and the tribes and place-names. Thus it is idle to speculate regarding the identification of Parvataka, his son Malayaketu, and the frontier tribes who fought for and against Chandragupta".[4] Yet he says that "the murder of Parvataka......probably refers to the assassination of Philippos in B.C. 324-3".[5] Dr. F. W. Thomas observes—"The *Mudrārākṣasa*...preserves...some outlines of the events which attended the foundation of the (Maurya) dynasty.[6] We need not question its evidence, which we are justified by some analogies in regarding as a genuine theatrical tradition".[7] This tradition is to be discussed "in a mood of pious agnosticism" and history, if one is to "observingly distil it out", will vindicate that work from the unmerited attacks on its

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1. *Sanskrit Drama*, p. 205 *n*.
2. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. VIII, p. 479.
3. *Candragupta Maurya*, p. 36.
4. *I.H.Q.*, Vol. V, p. 9.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 14n.
6. *C.H.I.*, Vol. I, p. 467.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 471.

historical value, as the critical insight of Dr. Bühler has vindicated the *Harṣacarita*.

(1) त्रिवर्ग[1]

This indication of the *puruṣārthas* shows the conformity of the *Mudrārākṣasa* to the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, and the numerous parallels between these two works, including the Kauṭilya —Viṣṇugupta identity, are striking.

(2) कौटिल्यः कुटिलमतिः स एष येन
क्रोधाग्नौ प्रसभमदाहि नन्दवंशः[2]

The form Kauṭilya supplies the dominant note of the drama, the alternative form Kauṭalya, with the limited support of manuscript authority, being an after-thought of MM. T. Ganapati Sastri, provoked by the meaning of the name. The *Ārya-Mañjuśrī—Mūlakalpa* gives Cāṇakya the characteristic titles of *krodharāṭ* and *yamāntakaḥ*,[3] but does not mention his role as kingmaker. It places Candragupta immediately after *Nīcamukhya* (Mahāpadma) Nanda, and abolishes the Mauryan revolution. It is surprising that Mr. K. P. Jayaswal regards this as "a true history."[4]

(3) वृषल[5]

Mr. Deb regards *Vṛṣala* as a personal name on the authority of the *Medinīkośa*,[6] but personal names and titles are mixed up in Sanskrit lexicons, and even *Narendra* is regarded by some as a personal name of Candragupta Maurya. Further even personal names must have a meaning. Mr. Deb remarks: "The *Mudrārākṣasa* probably belongs to the Gupta period; and there is not an iota of evidence to show that the word *vṛṣala* had already changed in meaning from 'herete' or 'outcaste' to Śūdra by caste."[7] But the *Amarakośa*[8] equates *Vṛṣala* with Śūdra:

शूद्राश्चावरवर्णाश्च वृषलाश्च जघन्यजाः .

1. *Mudrārākṣasa* (Act I, Verse 5). The references to the text are to Prof. K. H. Dhruva's edition, 1923, except where Telang's edition is mentioned.
2. I, 7.
3. K. P. Jayaswal, *An Imperial History of India*, p. 72.
4. *Ibid.*, Introductory, p. 15.
5. I, 9, 11.
6. *I.H.Q.*, Vol. VIII, p. 469.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 471.
8. Śūdra Varga, line 1.

and it is generally assigned to the Gupta age. Mr. H. C. Raya-chaudhuri takes the word as analogous to *Vrātya.*[1] Mr. S. K. Bose tries to show its original sense.[2] But we are concerned with the meaning of a word used by Viśākhadatta, and can get at it by confining our attention to his age or a little earlier. Therefore the authority of the *Amarakośa* is practically decisive.

Now the question arises whether Kauṭilya would have addressed Candragupta as Śūdra. Ḍhuṇḍhirāja's explanation is unsatisfactory:

निःस्पृहत्वाद्राजानमपि तृणीकृत्य भृत्यवद्व्यपदिशति.[3]

If Kauṭilya wanted to slight Candragupta, he would not have used the other form of address, वत्स,[4] or referred to the *Vṛṣala* as "the best of kings"[5]. To him Śūdra is not to call him names. To address one by one's caste-name is not unknown to-day. Moreover the successful Maurya revolution must have given commendable significance to Candragupta's caste-name. The professional status of Śūdras was not very different from that of Vaiśyas; the *Arthaśāstra* shows that *Vārtā* (agriculture, cattle-breeding and trade) was common to both castes.[6] There does not seem to be any impropriety in Candragupta being addressed as Śūdra by his political *guru* Kauṭilya. One need not go to the extent of giving the term *Vṛṣala* an altogether different significance by taking it as meaning 'a horse'. If the *Vṛṣala-śūdra* equation is objectionable, the other equations mentioned above are still more objectionable; it would be more impolite to address Candragupta as heretic, outcaste or apostate. In these circumstances it is best to give the term *Vṛṣala* its normal meaning of Śūdra.

The famous *Purāṇic* statement, ततः प्रभृति राजानो भविष्याः शूद्रयोनयः,[7] really means that generally kings from the time of the Nandas would be Śūdras, but to look for an exception to the rule immediately after the Nandas is to sacrifice the rule. In

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1. *Indian Culture*, Vol. II, p. 558.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 595-7.
3. Telang's edition, 1918, p. 160.
4. III, 18, 3.
5. III, 18.
6. The references to the *Arthaśāstra* are to the Trivandrum edition; Part I, p. 29.
7. Pargiter, *Dynasties of the Kali Age*, p. 25.

the absence of a specific statement to the contrary in the *Purāṇas*, Candragupta was a Śūdra to the *Paurāṇikas*.

Kauṭilya underlines good birth among the qualifications of officers of state. His ideal polity was one based on the *Varṇāśramadharma*.[1] He believes Kṣattriya sovereignty to be the best.[2] A king should be a *mahākulīna*.[3] Kauṭilya differs from *pūrvācāryas* in preferring a well-born (*abhijāta*) but weak king to a strong but base-born (*anabhijāta*) king[4] and a well-born but unwise son to a wise but base-born son.[5] Further, good birth is regarded by him as the supreme qualification for ministers and high priests[6], for certain classes of spies and envoys,[7] and for heads of departments.[8] Lastly, he despises a king not of royal parentage (*arājabījī*).[9] All this is supposed to negative the possibility of Kauṭilya enthroning a Śūdra Candragupta. But Śūdra birth should not be confounded with ignoble birth; Kauṭilya does not oppose *kulīnas* to Śūdras. Moreover, he could not have completely carried out in his early life the considered views of his in the evening of his life. His lust for vengeance on the Nandas would have left him few samples in the choice of instruments. At any rate, Candragupta was a *rājabījī*. Anyhow, the *Mudrārākṣasa* tradition cannot be dismissed on the negative evidence of the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya. It is curious that some scholars who complain of lack of agreement between the *Mudrārākṣasa* and the *Kauṭilīya* appeal to the negative testimony of the latter to discredit the tradition embodied in the former.

Justin says that "Sandracottus was of humble origin".[10] This does not necessarily mean that he was of ignoble origin. The Greek "Xandrames" is identified by some with Candragupta. It is no doubt to be equated with Candramas, but the historical details given by Greek writers apply to Mahāpadma Nanda rather than to Candragupta. The former is styled *Nīcamukhya* in the

1. I, p. 31.
2. I, p. 47.
3. II, p. 225.
4. III, p. 15.
5. II, p. 352.
6. I, pp. 45-6.
7. I, pp. 57 and 78.
8. I, p. 160.
9. II, p. 228.
10. Wilson, *Theatre of the Hindus*, Vol. II, p. 149.

Ārya-Mañjuśrī-Mūlakalpa.[1] As Candra and Nanda are derived from roots of the same meaning—चन्द् and नन्द्—, the Nanda king could be referred to as Candramas. The *vigraha* of the compound Candragupta may be चन्द्रात् गुप्तः, and the Greek "Xandrames" may refer to Candragupta's persecutor, Nanda or Candramas.

The *"Vaṁpa Mōriyar"* of Tamil literature has been variously understood. The *Tamil Lexicon*[2] gives a number of meanings to *"Vaṁpu"* and its variants. *'Vaṁpaṉ'* means an illegitimate son, and Dr. F. W. Thomas translates that expression as "Bastard Mauryas".[3] *"Vaṁpu"* also means newness. It seems best to take this sense and interpret that expression as upstart Mauryas.[4] The Śūdra sovereignty of Candragupta must have made him appear as a parvenu to Māmūlanār.

Dr. B. C. Law observes: "Candragupta is represented (in the *Mudrārākṣasa*) as an illegitimate son of the last Nanda king by a Śūdra woman named Murā".[5] But the Murā story is not incorporated in that drama. "According to the popular tradition he (Mahāpadma Nanda) had by a wife of low extraction, called Murā, another son named Candragupta. This last circumstance is not stated in the *Purāṇas* nor *Vrihat Kathā*, and rests therefore on rather questionable authority".[6] The commentator on the *Viṣṇupurāṇa* mentions Murā as "one of the wives of Nanda".[7] Ḍhuṇḍhirāja's *upodghāta* describes Murā as the Śūdra wife, not the concubine, of the Nanda:

राज्ञः पत्नी सुनन्दासीज्ज्येष्ठान्या वृषलात्मजा ।
मुराख्या सा प्रिया भर्तुः शीलरूपवयसंपदा ॥[8]

Candragupta could be of ignoble birth only if his mother had been a concubine. If she had been merely a Śūdrā married to the Nanda king, an *anuloma* connection would be perfectly legal and moral. The description of Candragupta as a *kulahīna* by

1. K. P. Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, p. 31.
2. VI, p. 3493.
3. *C.H.I.*, Vol. I, p. 596.
4. S. K. Aiyangar, *Beginnings of South Indian History*, p. 89; K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cōḷas*, I, p. 27 *n.*
5. *Some Kṣatriya Tribes of Ancient India*, p. 213.
6. Wilson, *of cit.*, p. 131.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 137.
8. Telang's edition, p. 42.

Rākṣasa will be discussed in the next section. Mr. Shantilal Shah, after an exhaustive examination of the Buddhist, Jain and Greek evidences, prefers the Brahmanical account of Candragupta's parentage as it is the least objectionable.[1] It is difficult to set aside the *Mudrārākṣasa* tradition of Candragupta's origin on the authority of the Buddhist tradition and of other evidences of doubtful value.

(4) अहो राक्षसस्य नन्दवंशे निरतिशयो भक्तिगुणः[2]

This observation of Kauṭilya is the key to the historical interpretation of Rākṣasa's encomiums on the Nandas and of his denunciations of their enemies, the Mauryas. A failure to appreciate the outcome of his invincible loyalty is responsible for the confusion of his strictures with the views of Viśākhadatta and for adverse comments on the historical value of the *Mudrārākṣasa.*[3] Rākṣasa was bound by the law of his being to make the Nandas *kulīnas* and the Mauryas *kulahīnas.*

(5) अस्माकं सहाध्यायी मित्रमिन्दुशर्मा नाम ब्राह्मण औशनस्यां दण्डनीत्यां परं प्रावीण्यमुपगतः ।[4]

Kauṭilya's fellow-pupil and friend Induśarman was a master of *Auśanasadaṇḍanīti* or *Śukranīti*. The *Arthaśāstra* says:

दण्डनीतिरेका विद्येत्यौशनसाः ।
तस्यां हि सर्वविद्यारम्भाः प्रतिबद्धा इति ॥[5]

Therefore, Viśākhadatta's Kauṭilya must have had knowledge of the most advanced political thought. Moreover, the *Arthaśāstrakāra* begins his work by offering *namaskāra* to Śukra,[6] quotes the views of the *Auśanasas*, and shows that his own opinions are in the neighbourhood of their injunctions. In the drama Kauṭilya is mentioned as a धर्मवित्तर and a सर्वज्ञ.[7] He is eulogised by Rākṣasa thus:

आकरः सर्वशास्त्राणां रत्नानामिव सागरः[8] ।

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1. The *Traditional Chronology of the Jainas*, Banner Orientalistiche Studien, No. 9, p. 13.
2. I. 12, 2.
3. *I.H.Q.*, Vol. VIII, p. 479.
4. I. 15, 15.
5. I, p. 27.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 1.
7. I. 17, 10 and 15.
8. VII, 8.

Further, he refers explicitly to the views of *Arthaśāstrakāras* in two places.[1] Therefore, though Viśākhadatta does not mention him as an *Arthaśāstrakāra*, he could be none other than the *Arthaśāstrakāra* Kauṭilya. The crowning effort of his diplomacy makes Rākṣasa suspect that he was not a दुरात्मा but a महात्मा.[2]

(6) अपथ्यकारिषु तीक्ष्णदण्डो राजा[3] ।

That Candragupta was severe only towards traitors is clear also from:

चन्द्रगुप्तस्य जनपदे न नृशंसा प्रतिपत्तिः[4] ।

This is not in conflict with the *Arthaśāstra* dictum:

तीक्ष्णदण्डो हि भूतानामुद्वेजनीयः ।
मृदुदण्डः परिभूयते । यथार्हदण्डः पूज्यः ॥[5]

(7) अनभिजाते !

पृथिव्यां किं दग्धाः प्रथितकुलजा भूमिपतयः
पतिं पापं मौर्यं यदसि कुलहीनं वृतवती[6] ।
पतिं त्यक्त्वा देवं भुवनपतिमुच्चैरभिजनं
गता शीघ्रेण श्रीर्वृषलमविनीतेव वृषली ॥[7]

This contrast between the high birth of the Nandas and the ignoble birth of Candragupta is due solely to the boundless loyalty of Rākṣasa, and should not be regarded as Viśākhadatta's perversion of history. Candragupta could have been a *kulahīna* only if his mother had been a concubine. Rākṣasa's abuse is probably the basis of the later Murā story, which is no part of the *Mudrārākṣasa* tradition. Mr. Deb's extracts to show that Candragupta was a *kulahīna*, according to Viśākhadatta, are from Rākṣasa's impassioned lament.[8]

(8) शकयवनकिरातकाम्बोजपारसीकबाह्लीकप्रभृतिभिः[9] ।

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1. III. 19, 17; V. 7, 5.
2. VII, 7, 4.
3. I. 23, 9.
4. VI, 15, 36.
5. I, p. 33.
6. II, 7.
7. VI, 6.
8. *I.H.Q.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 467-8.
9. II, 12, 20.

This shows that the Maurya revolution was effected by Kauṭilya and Candragupta with foreign help. The other features of the revolution may be deduced from the drama—more diplomacy than bloodshed, insecurity of Candragupta after the overthrow of the Nandas owing to the fidelity and machinations of the loyalists, etc. There is no reason to question the historicity of the main outlines of the revolution dramatised by Viśākhadatta, in spite of the anachronisms and exaggerations vitiating his account and the doubtful chronological value of the sequence of events.

(9) विषाङ्गना ।[1] औषधं चन्द्रगुप्ताय ।[2] शयितस्य चन्द्रगुप्तस्य ।[3] तीक्ष्णरसदादीनाम् ।[4]

These methods of Kauṭilyan state-craft minimising bloodshed and maximising intrigue and diplomacy, are directly confirmed by the Arthaśāstra, which explains the terms, *Tīkṣṇas* and *Rasadās*.[5]

(10) नववयसि ।[6] बाल एव........क्रमेणारूढवान् राज्यम् ।[7]

That Candragupta was young at his accession to the throne is mentioned by Plutarch as well.[8] Since he ruled for twenty-four years, he must have died prematurely about forty-five years of age.[9] The expression *kramena* may suggest that his acquisition of the Nanda throne was the culmination of his imperial effort and that the overthrow of the Macedonian garrisons in the Punjab had been effected earlier than the Magadhan revolution. The concluding portion of the drama, indicating peace and relation of military effort, also lends support to such a presumption.

(11) अहो राजाधिराजमन्त्रिणो विभूतिः ।[10]

उपलशकलमेतद्......जीर्णकुड्यम् ॥[11]

1. II, 15.
2. II, 15, 51.
3. II, 15, 63.
4. I, 14, 13.
5. I, pp. 56-7.
6. III, 3.
7. VII, 13.
8. Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 149.
9. K. P. Jayaswal, *op. cit.*, Introductory, p, 17.
10. III, 14, 2.
11. III, 15.

This description of Kauṭilya's cottage is by no means unbelievable. It is quite suited to his *śrotriyadharma*. According to Ferishta, Mahmūd Gāwān in the 15th century A.D. fulfilled the ideal of plain living and high thinking; almost all his earnings were devoted to charity, public and private. So the emoluments of the Mauryan Chancellor need not be an obstacle to his saintly life. According to the *Arthaśāstra*, the minister's salary was 48,000 *paṇas*.[1] Dr. Smith observes: "The value of a silver *paṇa*...may be taken as not far from a shilling."[2] Therefore Kauṭilya's salary of Rs. 36,000 *per annum*, or Rs. 3000 *per mensem*, was lower than that of some of our provincial officers at the present day.

(12) वृषलेन वृषेण राज्ञाम् ।[3]

This is quoted as evidence against Candragupta's Śūdra origin,[4] but it only indicates that he was the best of kings. It further shows the untenability of the reading *Vṛṣabha* for *Vṛṣala*.

(13) आशैलेन्द्रात्.........दक्षिणस्यार्णवस्य ।[5]

अम्भोधीनाम्.........चतुर्णाम् ॥[6]

This conventional description of Candragupta's *ādhirājya* agrees with the limits of the *Cakravartikṣetra* of the *Arthaśāstra*:

देशः पृथिवी । तस्यां हिमवत्समुद्रान्तरमुदीचीनं योजनसहस्रपरिमाणं तिर्यक् चक्रवर्तिक्षेत्रम् ।[7]

(14) अर्थशास्त्रकारास्त्रिविधां सिद्धिमुपवर्णयन्ति राजायत्तां सचिवायत्तामुभयायत्तां च ।[8]

This classification of Governmental forms—royal, ministerial and royal-ministerial—apparently goes against the monarchist view of Kauṭilya, but it is mentioned in the course of a शुष्ककलह. Further, Rākṣasa describes Candragupta's government as ministerial[9] in order to show his weakness without the support

1. II, p. 202.
2. *The Early History of India*, 4th edn., p. 149.
3. III, 18.
4. *Indian culture*, Vol. II, p. 596 *n*.
5. III, 19.
6. III, 24.
7. III, p. 45.
8. III, 19, 17.
9. IV, 12, 37.

of Kauṭilya. The truth of the matter is brought out in the description of *Vṛṣala* as प्रधानप्रकृति,[1] though domineered over by Kauṭilya.

(15) गजाध्यक्षो........क्षत्रगणमुख्यः[2] ।

This and similar passages remind us of the *adhyakṣas* of the *Arthaśāstra*. The omission of the रथाध्यक्ष from the *Mudrārākṣasa* is significant and helps the assignment of the work to a period when chariots fell into disuse, *viz.*, 7th century A. D., on the negative evidence of Hiuen Tsang and Bāṇa. The *Bharatavākya* would suggest the age of a *Vaiṣṇava* emperor of eminence, but not of the Maukhari Avantivarman Parameśvara.[3]

(16) अद्य दशमो मासः[4]

This shows that the Maurya revolution was prolonged to nearly a year, a point noted by Dr. Smith.[5]

(17) नन्दान्वय एवायम् ।[6] नन्दकुलमनेन पितृकुलभूतं कृतघ्नेन घातितम् ।[7] मौर्योऽसौ स्वामिपुत्रः ।[8] गोत्रान्तरं श्रीर्गता ।[9]

It is clear that Candragupta was a *Nandavaṁśya* but belonged to a *gotrāntara*. This does not necessarily mean that there were two Nanda dynasties, one respectable and another disreputable. The interpretation of *Navanandāḥ* as Neo-Nandas is rightly rejected by Dr. O. Stein.[10] The *Purāṇic* tradition mentions nine Nandas, names two of them, and says that eight Nandas would rule in succession to the first Nanda.[11] The names of all the nine Nandas, from Ugrasena, to Dhana, are given in the *Mahābodhivaṁśa*.[12]

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1. I, 14, 20.
2. III, 24, 11.
3. E.A. Pires, *The Maukharis*, p. 104.
4. IV, 4, 11.
5. *Oxford History of India,* 1st edn., p. 73 *n.*
6. IV, 7, 15.
7. IV, 12, 26.
8. V, 19.
9. VI, 5.
10. *Archiv Orientalin*, I, p. 360.
11. Pargiter, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
12. R. K. Mookerji, *Hindu Civilization*, p. 276.

(18) अर्थशास्त्रव्यवहारिणामर्थवशादरिमित्रोदासीनव्यवस्था न लौकिकानामिव स्वेच्छावशात् ।

This is, exactly, the political morality outlined in the *Arthaśāstra*, which is however, out of harmony with the *Dharmaśāstra* ideal, inspite of the special pleading of M. M. Ganapati Sastri that even the sage Buddha would not but have given similar advices (sic) had he written an *Arthaśāstra.*[2]

(19) म्लेच्छराजलोकस्य मध्ये प्रधानतमाः पञ्च राजानः ।[3] राज्यार्धहृत् ।[4] कुलालचक्रमिव मे चेतश्चिरं भ्राम्यति ।[5] चन्द्रगुप्तादपि बलीयः पर्वतेश्वरः ।[6] प्रस्थातव्यं पुरस्तात् etc. ।[7] ते गम्भीरं श्वभ्रमभिनीय पांशुभिः पूर्यन्ताम् ।[8] शैलेश्वरं समधिकृत्य कृतः प्रयत्नः ।[9] अहो विवेकशून्यता म्लेच्छस्य मलयकेतोः ।[10] देवश्चन्द्रगुप्तः प्रयच्छति मलयकेतवे पित्र्यं विषयम् ।[11]

These passages contain a distorted echo of the invasion of India by Seleucos Nicator. More than a century ago (1835) Wilson wrote: "The failure of Seleucos in his attempt to extend his power in India and his relinquishment of territory may possibly be connected with the discomfiture and retreat of Malayaketu, as narrated in the drama."[12] Mr. Jayaswal suggests the substitution of Salayaketu (Seleucos) for Malayaketu.[13] Mr. D.M. Mukhopadhyaya proposes the identification of Malayaketu with Meleager or with Seleucos and of Parvataka with Philippos.[14] Dr. F. W. Thomas identifies Parvataka with Porus.[15]

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1. V, 7, 5 ; V. 8.
2. III, Introduction, p. 3.
3. I, 18, 108.
4. II, 16.
5. V, 5.
6. V, 7, 7.
7. V, 11.
8. V, 21, 12.
9. VI, 7.
10. VI, 7, 1.
11. VII, 16, 19.
12. *op. cit.*, p. 134.
13. *Indian Antiquary*, 1913, p. 267.
14. *Journal of the Department of Letters*, Calcutta University, XXVII, p. 8.
15. *C.H.I.*, I, p. 471.

No doubt Malayaketu appears in the drama in Indian religious costume; see his lament at not performing his father's funeral ceremonies.[1] But his alliances with the chief kings in the heart of the *mleccha* country; his vacillation and confusion; the punishment he meted out to some of his allies, reminiscent of the Athenian treatment of the envoys of Darius I demanding "earth and water" as recorded by Herodotus; his aiming at half the kingdom of Candragupta; his retreat and reconciliation with the Indian monarch; and, above all, the description of Parvataka or Śaileśvara as greater than Candragupta, seem to support the identification of Malayaketu with Seleucos.

(20) प्रियदर्शन[2]

This title of Caudragupta shows that Aśoka inherited it. Mr. Raya Chaudhuri therefore suggests that the interval of 218 years between the Buddhanirvāṇa and the accession of *Priyadarśin* may be from 544 B.C. to 326 B.C. and that the Ceylonese traditional date of the Buddha's decease may be supported.[3]

The close conformity of the *Mudrārākṣasa* to the *Arthaśāstra*, its realistic picture of the maxims and methods of Kauṭilyan statecraft, its administrative terminology, its peeps into the criminal law and social life of the Maurya age, and its outlines of the Nanda-Candragupta conflict, are of supreme value as independent or corroborative testimony. Barring anachronisms and palpable exaggerations, its evidence need not be distrusted unless it is directly contradicted by sources of greater veracity. The attempts to pooh-pooh the *Mudrārākṣasa* tradition in the light of the Ceylonese Buddhist tradition necessitate emphasis on the golden dictum of Dr. Smith: "A moment's thought will show that legends preserved in Northern India . . . . . are more likely to transmit genuine tradition than those which reached the distant island of Ceylon in translations brought, nobody knows how, when, or whence, and subsequently largely modified by local and sectarian influences."[4]

1. IV, 4, 12.
2. Telang's edition, p. 265.
3. *Indian Culture*, II, p. 560.
4. *The Early History of India*, p. 180.

THE SIDDHĀNTAŚLOKA IN THE IṢṬASIDDHI.

BY

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Error or erroneous cognition (*bhrama*) is a very interesting problem in the study of Indian philosophy. The explanation of how error comes into being, its exact nature, its object (viṣaya) etc., are absorbingly interesting, abounding in a metaphysical super-subtlety. Each school of philosophy tries to explain illusion (bhrama) in its own way. Traditionally there are five[1] khyātivādas (theories of error): Ātmakhyāti (the theory of self-apprehension, asatkhyāti (theory of non-being's apprehension), akhyāti (theory of non-apprehension), anyathākhyāti (theory of mis-apprehension), and anirvacanīyakhyāti (the theory of indefinable's apprehension).

Over and above these five theories, there are some minor variants of these. The Bhāṭṭas hold what is known as viparītakhyāti (contrary experience) which only deviates from the anyathākhyāti (mis-apprehension, held by the Naiyāyikas) very slightly, the only difference being in their rejection of the Naiyāyika's explanation of *bhrama* through the extra-normal sense-relation (alaukika-sannikarṣa). The Mādhvas maintain what they call their own version of *anyathākhyāti* (i.e., abhinavānyathākhyāti) which is only a case of mixing up *asatkhyāti* with *anyathākhyāti*. The Rāmānujīyas hold what is called *akhyāti-Saṁvalita-Satkhyāti* (non-apprehehsion cum apprehension of reality). This is also known as *yathārtha-khyāti*. According to them error in cognition really opens up a subtle truth, which under normal conditions is missed.[2]

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1. आत्मख्यातिरसत्ख्यातिरख्यातिः ख्यातिरन्यथा ।
तथानिर्वचनख्यातिरित्येतत् ख्यातिपञ्चकम् ॥

2. According to the Rāmānujīyas, in all the three types of error, nothing but the red is presented. But in each of them, some relevant feature of the given is missed—(a) *Lohita-Sphaṭika-bhrama*. Here redness and crystal are both presented; but the

Critically viewing all these theories from an ontological stand-point, they can be classified mainly under two heads, viz. *Satkhyāti* and *asatkhyāti*. And this two-fold classification has been the basis of Vimuktātman's criticism of the theories of the other schools. Though much of his views is borrowed from Vācaspati Miśra, who himself has borrowed from Maṇḍanamiśra, Vimuktātman displays a keen logical and metaphysical subtlety in exposing the weak points in the theories other than the *anirvacanīyakhyāti*. The chief argument in his criticism is stated in his Siddhānta-śloka:

सत्त्वे न भ्रान्तिबाधौ स्तां नासत्त्वे ख्यातिबाधकौ ।
सदसद्द्वयामनिर्वाच्याविद्या वेद्यैः सह भ्रमाः ॥ Iṣṭasiddhi, I, 9.

an exposition of which is attempted in this article closely following Vimuktātman's own interpretation:

If nacre-silver really exists just as it is presented, then like real silver it cannot be sublated at a later moment and hence there can be no illusion at all. In the same way, if the nacre-silver is also totally non-existent, it cannot be presented in experience just as a hare's horn; and in this case also there cannot be any later sublation. The sublation can be thought of only after a thing has been presented in experience. There is likely to be a plausible objection here which Vimuktātman anticipates and disposes of very easily. For one may be inclined to say that the whole of the nacre-silver is not non-existent, but only a part of it, so that the remaining part being existent, it cannot be said

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fact that they are asaṁsṛṣṭa is overlooked. (b) *Śukti-rajata-bhrama*: *Rajata* is actually presented, for *rajata* particles are found in the object commonly known as *śukti*, according to Rāmānuja's view of the constitution of the physical universe. But this element is *alpa* or negligible in quantity as compared with the *śukti* element. It is this *alpatva* that is missed in *Śukti-rajata-bhrama*. (c) *Dreams*. The object dreamt of (say, an elephant) is quite as real as the corresponding object of waking experience. But the former is private to the dreaming person, while the latter is public. Their being *private* is what is missed in the case of dream-objects.

For an account of the various *Khyātivādas* see Prof. M. Hiriyanna's Introduction to the Iṣṭasiddhi, pp. XVI—XXVI; *see also* Introduction to the Vibhramaviveka, by Mm. S. Kuppuswami Sastri.

that it will not be presented in experience. That is, the *idam-aṁśātmatva* of silver (part of the silver qualified by *thisness* in an experience of the form 'this is silver') alone is *asat* and not the very silver itself, so that the silver in its own nature can be experienced. Vimuktātman tersely answers this objection thus. That part of silver which is non-existent cannot be experienced, and with respect to that there can be no illusion or later stultification. The idea underlying this answer is this. If the *idam-aṁśātmatva* of silver alone is non-existent and not silver as such, then the experience can take the form of only silver and not as 'this is silver'.

(तर्हि रूप्यमात्रख्यातिरेव स्यान्न त्विदं रूप्यमिति सामानाधिकरण्यख्यातिः।
Iṣṭasiddhivivaraṇa, Gaek. Edn., p. 483.)

The opponent may now try to escape from the difficulty by holding the view expressed in the words:

भावान्तरमभावोऽन्यो न कश्चिदनिरूपणात्।

That is, taking non-existence to be *tādātmya* the opponent may say that by *asat* (non-existent) he does not mean a totally non-existent entity as a hare's horn, but only another *sat* (*sadantara*) or its attribute (*sadantaradharma*) which has to be realised by *abhāva-pramāṇa* (means of knowing non-existence through non-cognition). Thus he says that *asat* (non-existent), being only another form of an existent or its attribute (*sadantaradharma*) can be presented in experience. Thus he wishes to point out that the criticism based on the fact that *asat* (non-existent) cannot be produced in experience is incorrect.

Vimuktātman replies to this objection briefly as follows: Even granting for argument's sake that such an explanation is possible, *asat* by the fact that it is *asat* (non-existent) can be presented in experience only as *asat* (non-existent). In this case there is only *asat-khyāti* (cognition of the non-existent) and therefore no *bhrānti*.

यद्यप्यभावप्रमाणप्रमेयमसदङ्गीकरोषि, तथापि नास्तीत्येव ख्यातिप्रसङ्गात् इदं रूप्यमिति सत्त्वेन ख्यातिरूपा भ्रान्तिर्न स्यात् इति परिहरति तथापीति।

(Iṣṭasiddhivivaraṇa, Gaek. Edn., p. 483.)

And *asat-khāyti* (i.e., *asataḥ khyātiḥ, pratītiḥ*) as has been pointed out above is an impossibility. Further, if it be said that the non-existent appears as existent, then is that *sadrūpa* (form of the existent) real or unreal? If real, it cannot be sublated and

thus there is no illusion. And, if the *sadrūpa* of the non-existent is unreal, then there is no cognition (*khyāti* or *pratīti*) of it at all and thus also no illusion is possible.

The opponent may try to escape further by holding the view that *asat* has no *sadrūpa*; but still it appears to have a *sadrūpa* and thus is capable of being brought into the field of experience. Vimuktātman disposes of this view by putting forth a *vikalpa*. He asks the opponent whether the *sadrūpa* (existent's form) which the non-existent appears to possess is really non-existent, or has the non-existent (*asat*) no real relation with the *sadrūpa*? In both the cases the previous objection that what is really non-existent cannot admit of being presented in experience, will serve as an answer. Therefore, if nacre-silver is non-existent, there is no possibility of its cognition (*pratīti*) and hence no illusion can be held. And even if it be said that *sat-khyāti* is possible in the case of *asat* (non-existent) with reference to holding *asat* as *tādātmya*, as above, still there is only *sat-khyāti* (apprehension of reality) and not *bhrama* (illusion) or later stultification. And hence is it said *na asatve khyāti-bādhakau*.

"अत उक्तप्रकारेण तादात्म्यस्यासत्त्वे सत्ख्यातिर्न घटत इति भ्रमो न सिध्यतीत्याह अतोऽसत्त्व इति" Iṣṭasiddhivivaraṇa, Gaek. Edn., p. 483.

Or the first *pāda* of the verse (I, 9) quoted above, serves as a refutation of the *sat-khyāti* (theory of existent's apprehension). For if nacre-silver be held to really exist, there is no illusion; and if a part of it be held to be non-existent, then the other part (which is existent) cannot suffer any sublation. This is contrary to experience.

The second *pāda* is an objection to *asat-khyāti* (theory of non-being's apprehension) held by the Nihilistic school of Buddhists. For what is totally non-existent cannot be brought into the field of experience and as such there cannot be any illusion. If it be held that nacre-silver is not *tuccha* (void or absolute nothing), and thus can be experienced and as such, *bhrama* is possible, then since *tuccha* (void) cannot be presented in experience, there will be no *tuccha-bodha* (cognition of the non-existent) to sublate the *atuccha-rūpya*. That is, the sublating cognition according to the *asatkhyātivādin* is *idam tuccham* (this is void). But such a cognition is impossible since what is void cannot be experienced. Hence the cognition *idam rajatam* will not be cancelled and thus the experience is not a *bhrama*.

This is contrary to experience. Therefore the contention that *tuccha* (absolute nothing) is presented in experience in the form of nacre-silver is at variance with fact. Or again it can be said that silver being totally non-existent, it is not at all presented in experience and hence can undergo no later sublation. In any way *asat-khyāti* (i.e. *asataḥ khyātiḥ*, cognition of the non-existent) is contrary both to reason and experience.

Again, both the first two *pādas* together can be taken to refute the *asat-khyāti* (theory of non-being's apprehension). It is thus: Does the thing which appears as silver, appear as non-existent (*asat*) or existent (*sat*)? In the first case there is no illusion or sublation, for, the non-existent cannot be experienced. In the latter, does *tuccha* (absolute nothing) which is held to be manifesting itself in the form of nacre-silver, possess the *sadrūpa* (real existent's form) or not? In the first case, there is no illusion or later sublation, for, what is real (*sat*) cannot occasion error and will not be sublated. If *tuccha* does not possess *sadrūpa*, even then *tuccha* cannot be experienced as silver. Thus where there is no *khyāti* at all stultification (*bādha*) has no room.

Here the *pūrvapakṣin* (who holds the *prima facie* view) may bring forward a modification of his statement. He may say that *tuccha* (absolute nothing) really has no form of real silver, but still it appears as though it were real silver. Thus he wishes to point out that *tuccha*, even though it has no real *sadrūpa*, can be presented in experience and thus *bhrama* is possible. But Vimuktātman further objects to this as follows:—

तुच्छस्य सद्रूप्यात्मता तुच्छैव उत सती ?

Does *tuccha*, even when it is experienced as silver, possess that form (silverness) really or not? And if real, is the *rūpyātmatā* (silverness) of *tuccha* real or not? If the silverness of *tuccha* is also *tuccha*, the experience of *tuccha* (absolute nothing) as silver is an absolute impossibility. If, on the other hand, it be held that the silverness of *tuccha*, is not *tuccha*, then is the *rūpyātmatā* real or unreal? If real, there is no illusion or sublation and if unreal, there is only *nāstikhyāti* and not *rūpyakhyāti*.

The *pūrvapakṣin*, now being driven to a corner, may try to escape by saying that *tuccha* does not really possess silverness even during the time of its being apprehended as such, but *tuccha* only appears to have a relation with silver. This relation also can be negated by putting forth a three-fold *vikalpa* as

before. That is, is the relation between *tuccha* and silver, *tuccha* or not. If the relation is *tuccha*, then there can be no *sat-khyāti*. And if the relation is not *tuccha*, then is the relation real or unreal? If real, it cannot be sublated, and if unreal there is only *nāsti-khyāti* and not illusion. Thus in all such cases illusion cannot be reasonably established. If it be again said that silver also is unreal, but at the same time it only appears as real, then also the same three-fold *vikalpa* and the same answer will silence the *pūrvapakṣin*.

असतो यत्सद्रूपं तदपि किमसदेव उत सत्, सत्त्वेऽप्यस्ति उत न इति विकल्प्य परिहारो द्रष्टव्यः ।　Iṣṭasiddhivivaraṇa, p. 484.

After refuting the *satpakṣa* in a particular way before, Vimuktātman now turns to refute all the *satpakṣas* in a general manner. This, of course, excludes *akhyātivāda* where no *bādhya* is admitted.

इदानीं यः कश्चित् बाध्यांशः स सत्त्वेन भाति न वेति साधारण्येन सत्पक्ष-निराकरणे श्लोकार्धं योजयति सत्पक्षेऽपीत्यादिना ।

Iṣṭasiddhivivaraṇa, p. 484.

The usage of the word *sādhāraṇyena* refers to the refutation of all *satpakṣas* except *akhyāti*. The general refutation of Vimuktātman is as follows: Even if it be said that silver that is experienced in an illusion is unreal, but only the sublated portion was non-existent which alone appeared as existent, then does the *bādhyāṁśa*[1] (sublatable portion) appear as real or not? If it is real, then just like the unsublatable portion (*abādhyāṁśa*), the sublatable portion also cannot be stultified. If the *bādhyāṁśa*, (say, of silver) does not really have any silverness, there can arise no cognition of silver at all or its stultification. And then there is no justification in calling that portion *bādhyāṁśa*. There is, so to say, *svarūpa-hāni*. Further, it cannot be held that a part of a thing is sublatable and another part of the same thing un-sublatable. Either both the parts are sublatable, in which case, the whole being non-existent, there is no illusion at all; or both the parts are real (*abādhya*) in which case the sublatable portion is also equally real as the unsublatable portion. And before stultification (*bādha*) the difference between *bādhya* and *abādhya*

1. The *bādhyāṁśa* may be silver, or identity or *bāhyatva*. The word *sādhāraṇyena* used in the commentary is very significant.

cannot be known. Hence, if at all silver be conceived in the case of nacre-silver, it should either be wholly sublatable or wholly unsublatable; and in both the cases illusion cannot be satisfactorily established. Granting for argument's sake that the difference between sublatable and unsublatable is known even before sublation, still, if both the sublatable and unsublatable parts are presented in experience as existent (*sat*), then the difference between them ceases to exist since what is real cannot be stultified. Thus since both the sublatable and unsubltable parts are equally real, if one is sublated, the other should necessarily be sublated, and if the unsublatable part is not stultified, there is no reason why the sublatable part should be stultified.

Now it may be said that really there is difference between nacre and silver, but what is held as sublatable (*bādhya*) is the conception of their oneness. Here also Vimuktātman adopts his powerful old weapon of *vikalpa* in silencing his adversary. Even when the difference between silver and nacre is known, does their identity continue to be presented in experience? If so, the relation of identity between nacre and silver is also equally real as nacre and silver. Or, if the relation of identity is unreal, then the relata also are unreal. But if it be held that when the difference between nacre and silver is known, the relation of identity between them does not continue, then the conception of of their identity is a case of *ajñana*. Otherwise, the relation of identity also cannot be sublated just as the relata. If it be said that the sublatable portion (*bādhyāṁśa*) of silver is also cognised, then just like the cognition of the unsublatable portion (*abādhyāṁśa*) the *bādhyāṁśa-jñāna* (cognition of the sublatable part) has also a real *artha* or *viṣaya* (object) for its cognition. If not, the unsublatable part also will be unreal, since no difference can be established between the sublatable and unsublatable parts in the sphere of knowledge. And for all pieces of knowledge, if there is no knowable (*jñeya*), then there is no *bādhya-bādhaka-bhāva* (state of being sublated and sublating) between one piece of cognition and another. If, on the other hand, every *jñāna* (cognition) has a *jñeya* (knowable), then also there is no *bādhya-bādhaka-bhāva*, for what is known is a *sadartha* (real object) and no sublation is possible for it. If it be held that the sublatable part is experienced as non-existent, there is either no knowledge of the *bādhyāṁśa* or the knowledge of the sublatable part is one without a knowable (*jñeya-śūnya-jñāna*). In such a case where-

from can *bhrama* arise and its later sublation ? To say that there is a *jñāna* (knowledge) and at the same time that it has no *jñeya* (knowable) is contradictory.

Even in the case of *Akhyāti* (theory of non-being's apprehension, held by the Prābhākaras) if *jñāna* has a knowable object exactly as it is experienced, there can never be any illusion or sublation; so also if the object for *bhrama* be held to be *asat* (non-existent), there can be no experience of it at all and wherefrom can there be any illusion or sublation? If it be said that cognition has an object for it, but in cases of so-called illusion there arise two positive concepts, both of which are real, but their *aviveka* or non-discrimination arising out of the *pramuṣṭa-tattāka-smaraṇa*[1] i.e. recollection of an object robbed of its thatness constitutes *bhrama*, then it may be asked is this *aviveka* (non-discrimination) a piece of knowledge or knowable ? If non-discrimination is a knowledge, it should be cognition of a real and not an illusion. And if non-discrimination is a *jñeya* (knowable), is it cognised (*jñāta*) or not cognised (*ajñāta*) ? In both the cases non-discrimination cannot be an illusion. For, if

1. The Prābhākaras contend that when silver is cognised in a piece of shell, *two concepts* arise, one the *perception* of nacre in a general way as this (*idam*) and not as characterised by the distinctive feature nacre-ness, and the other the *recollection* of silver previously cognised elsewhere. This recollection is not identified as recollection, but only as a cognition since the object of recollection *viz.*, silver, is thought of merely as silver stripped of its association with the past time and the particular place where it was seen. Such a recollection is technically described by the Prābhākaras as *pramuṣṭa-tattāka-smaraṇa*.| The non-distinction of the concepts gives rise to the non-distinction of their respective objects and as a result of such non-discrimination activity is seen. Really there is no illusion at all according to this school. In certain other types of error as 'the conch is yellow' etc. the Prābhākara says that two *imperfect* cognitions arise, one the visual *perception* of the conch as conch with its real colour missed, and the other the visual *perception* of the yellow colour of the bilious matter which causes jaundice the relation of the yellow colour to the bilious substance being missed, the lack of relation between the yellow colour and the conch also being missed. Thus in all cases of *bhrama* two distinct cognitions—either a perception and a recollection or two perceptions—arise; and their distinction being missed, the difference between the respective objects is missed for the time being; and as a result of such non-discrimination, volitional decision leading to voluntary activity arises:

See Vibhramaviveka, Introduction by Mm. Kuppuswami Sastri, pp. iii-iv.

non-discrimination is a *jñāta-jñeya* (cognised knowable), then it is a real one and cannot be sublated, for what is known cannot be negatived; and if non-discrimination is *ajñāta-jñeya* (uncognised knowable), then by the very fact that it is unknown, there is no non-discrimination at all. For discrimination or non-discrimination can be thought of only after knowing something and not before. And if it be held that this *aviveka* (non-discrimination) is neither a *jñāna* nor a *jñeya* but something else, is it indefinable (*anirvacanīya*)? The Prābhākara will not say this for he will be unconsciously lending himself to the *anirvacanīya-khyāti*.[1] Thus in all other cases illusion and sublation cannot be satisfactorily established, and since both these are very widely recognised also, the indefinable *avidyā* or *māyā* alone can be said to take the form of *bhrama* as 'this is silver' etc. and of the object for such cases of illusion.

तस्मात् पक्षान्तरेषु भ्रान्तिबाधयोरसंभवात् तयोश्च प्रसिद्धत्वात् सदसत्त्वाभ्यामनिर्वचनीयाविद्यैव इदं रजतमित्यादि भ्रान्तिज्ञानं तज्ज्ञेयं च इति सिद्धम् । Iṣṭasiddhi., Gaek. Edn., p. 125.

It can be clearly noted that Vimuktātman with his very pointed weapon of *vikalpa* never fails to cut asunder and blast the theories of error held by others. His criticism of the *khyātivādas* and the establishment of the theory of the indefinable's apprehension is a most scholarly piece of contribution to the development of *advaita*, both in the destructive and constructive aspects, destructive with regard to the other views and constructive with respect to monism. His chief object in view in writing an elaborate polemical work is to establish *Māyā*. And he himself indicates this in unmistakable terms when he says:

'अतो माय्यात्मैको मयेष्टस्सिद्धः Iṣṭasiddhi., Gaek. Edn., p. 347.

and

अतश्चायमनिर्वाच्या यद्यविद्या प्रसिध्यति ।
व्यचीचरमविद्यां तामत इष्टार्थसिद्धये ॥ *Ibid.*, VIII, 28.

1. Further objections to the *akhyāti* with regard to their inability to explain the unitary activity on the part of the person who rushes up to pick up the piece of shell which he mistook for silver, etc. can be had from the *Akhyātivāda* portion of Tātparyaṭīkā and Bhāmatī, T. P. H. Series, p. 30—

यदि अतथात्वेनाग्रहणादिति ब्रूयात्, स च प्रतिवक्तव्यः अथ तथात्वेनाग्रहणात् कस्मान्नोपेक्षेतेति । etc.

From these it seems that if Vimuktātman were asked which he would like more, Brahman or *avidyā* (*Māyā*), so far as priority of enquiry is concerned, he would certainly have voted in favour of the latter. For *avidyā*, though inferior to Brahman in all respects, is *iṣṭa* (liked) or even *iṣṭa-tara* (more liked) in the sense that it has to be got over for the realisation of the self. The very same idea seems to have been in Śaṅkarācārya's mind also when he began his sūtra-bhāṣya with

युष्मदस्मत्प्रत्ययगोचरयोः etc.

For *yuṣmat* (the concept of Thou) signifies all the phenomenal world (which is only *māyika*, illusory) and all that is different from Brahman. And according to the maxim '*abhyarhitam pūrvam*' the usage of the word *yuṣmat* in the very beginning of his master-piece serves to show that Śaṅkarācārya also had greater respect towards *māyā* than towards *Ātman* in the sense that the former has to be got over in order to realise *Ātman*. This has been well pointed out by our Professor, Mahāmahopādhyāya S. Kuppuswami Sastriar in his note 'Abrahma-jijñāsā':

अयं च समीचीनः समाधिः श्रीशङ्कराचार्यैः अथातःशब्दार्थविचारात् पूर्वमेव अध्यासभाष्ये अब्रह्मस्वरूपनिरूपणमुखेन वेदान्तशास्त्रमुपक्रममाणैः युष्मत्-प्रत्ययगोचरं वस्तुतो जघन्यमपि मुख्यमिव सादरमादिवाक्ये परामृशद्भिरभिव्यञ्जितः शास्त्ररसिकैरास्वादयितुं युज्यते ।

—Journal of Madras University, Language Number VIII, 2, p. 2.

CHIDAMBARAM INSCRIPTION OF ACYUTADĒVA RĀYA.

BY

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Chidambaram.

This inscription of Acyutadēva Rāya of the third Dynasty of Vijayanagar is a bilingual record—in Sanskrit and Tamil, written in Grantha and Tamil script.[1] It refers to the grant of eighty-two villages towards the celebration of the annual car-festival of Naṭarāja and the construction of the northern Gōpuram at Chidambaram. It is found on the outer western wall of the second *prākāra*—called in inscriptions 'Kulōttuṅga Śōlaṉ Tirumāḷikai—enclosing the two shrines of Naṭarāja and Gōvindarāja. The first line is about three feet below the roof, and the last line about twelve feet from the ground-level of the *prākāra*. It consists of seventeen lines of which the first fourteen are in Sanskrit comprising forty-eight ślōkas in *anuṣṭup* and the rest in Tamil, and even in the Sanskrit part, a few Tamil words are mixed up in the names of the villages (like Meyyāṟṟūr) enumerated in the gift. The inscription is dated Śālivāhana (Śaka) 1451 expired, in the cyclic year Virōdhi in the month of Phālguni, Kṛṣṇapakṣa, Sunday, Pañcamī tithi,—probably March 20, A.D. 1530.

Ślōkas 7—10. (Line 3) define the boundaries of the sixty-four villages which were given for the celebration of the annual car-festival of Cidambara-mahēśa. They are said to be in Vīranārāyaṇa Sīmā, in Vīra Rājēndra Bhayada vaḷanāḍu, a sub-division of Vaṣṭalapaṭṭu Cāvaḍi (called in Tamil, *Vaḷudalampaṭṭu Cāvaḍi*)* included in Coḷamaṇḍala Rājya. The villages were

1. This is one of the nearly twenty inscriptions found in the Chidambaram temple which had not been previously copied by the Epigraphical Department. Most of them have since been copied.

* Vaḷudalampaṭṭu is a village in Kuriñjippāḍi sub-district of S. Arcot District 58-(221).

bounded on the east by Puṭavūru—Śrī—Śolattapura, on the south by Pūrvadattyu dhagdēśam, on the west by Aracharpattu and Kilaipattu, and on the north by Northern Araśūrpattu and Mēlaipattu.

Ślokas 11-31 (Ll. 3-10) contain the names of the sixty-four villages whose revenues were granted by the king towards the annual celebration of the car-festival of Naṭarāja.

Ślokas 32-34 (Ll. 10) define the boundaries of the eighteen villages which were granted for the construction of the northern Gōpuram and the *prākārās* of the Hēma Sabhā. They were to the east of Śrī-kuṇṭa-Maruhūr Sīmā, to the south of Tiruvali Sīmā, to the west of Kirvaḷūrputtu and to the north of the Kāvērī.

Ślokas 34-41 (Ll. 10-12) contain the names of the eighteen villages.

Ślokas 42-46 (Ll. 12-14) mention that the King Acyutēndra Mahārāja gave these villages to the Cidambara Mahēśa as *Sarvamānya* so as to last as long as the sun and the moon endure.

Ślokas 47 and 48 mention a *tapasvin* called Payyadēva to whom and to whose disciples was granted the village of Aṭṭa-kuḍi, and the grant was written by Cidambareśa.

The Tamil part commencing at the end of line fourteen mentions that the villages situated in Vīranārāyaṇa Śīmai, Ammaiyappaṉ Vaṭṭattu Śīmai, were given away by the King for the construction of the northern Gōpuram and other sacred works (Tiruppaṇi) and those of Nāṅgūr Vaṭṭattu Śīrmai to the car-festival of *kaṉakasabhāpati* (*i.e.* Naṭarāja), and that the gift was made at the request of Kṛṣṇa Rāya Nāyakar and that Sāḷuva Daṇṇāyakar heard this prayer and obtained the royal sanction of Acyuta Dēva Rāya, and that the eighty-two villages were granted for three-thousand *poṉ* as *Sarvamānya* to God Cidambareśvara inclusive of all *Samudāyas*, viz., Kallaṇai, poṉṉiyuḍaippu, āṟuveṭṭu, aṟai-maṉaip-pirakkum-paḷavari,—puduvari, veṭṭi-vari, iḍaittuṟai, ayam, aṉuppu, araśupēru and Kāṇiyḷar pēru. The list of villages will be found in the Appendix.

It has now been well-established that there was a disputed succession at the time of the accession of Acyuta Rāya. As early as 1526, Kṛṣṇa Dēva, then ill, seems to have fixed the suc-

cession in favour of his brother, "Achetarao", as he had "no son of fit age for the throne" and as Acyuta was better fitted than any of the others. This decision, though acquiesced in by Rāma Rāya at the time, was later reversed soon after Kṛṣṇa Rāya's death by his championing the cause of Kṛṣṇa Rāya's child, then eighteen months old according to Nuniz. And one of the strongest supporters of Rāma Rāya in this struggle for the throne was Sāḷuva Nāyaka or Sāḷuva Vīra Naraśiṅga Nāyaka Sāḷuva Daṇṇāyakar alias Cellappa—called Sal(u)vany by Nuniz—. "Governor of the Cōḷa country and Lord of Charamaodel, Negapatao, Tangor, Boungain, Dapatao, Trueguel, and Caullium." Perhaps it is this chief that is the executor of the grant referred to in line 16 as Sāḷuva Daṇṇāyaka.[1]

Two Kāñcīpuram inscriptions of Acyuta Rāya mention the reduction of his rivals and the unruly vassals and his coronation and the performance of some of the *mahādānas* both in the Kāmākṣī and Varadarāja shrines.[2]

He made a gift of a number of villages on the occasion of his coronation and directed Sāḷuva Nāyaka to assign the villages *equally* between Varadarāja and Ekāmranātha shrines, and it is further mentioned that as Sāḷuva Nāyaka gave more to Ekāmranātha, he had them equalised by redistribution[3] and thus he evinced a spirit of toleration and strict impartiality. The present inscription refers to his gifts to Naṭarāja while according to another local inscription[4] it is said that Acyuta in Śaka 1461 (10 years later) ordered that the image of Gōvindarāja Perumāḷ at Perumpaṟṟappuliyūr (in Vaḻudalampaṭṭu cāvaḍi, a sub-division of Veṇṇaiyūr nāḍu, in Rājādhirāja Vaḷanāḍu) be set up according to the ritual of the Vaikhānasa Sūtra, and thus the two Chidambaram records confirm the inference drawn from his two Kāñcīpuram inscriptions about his religious impartiality.

From the inscriptions already published, we know that the northern Gōpuram of Chidambaram was built by Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāja, Acyuta's predecessor. There are three inscriptions of

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1. For a discussion of the disputed succession in the early years of Acyuta, refer to Chapters I & II of "The Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara" by Dr. N. Venkataramanayya.
2. Nos. 49 and 50 of 1900 S. I. I. VII, Nos. 52 and 53.
3. 584 of 1919.
4. 272 of 1913.

Kṛṣṇa Rāya which refer to his building of the northern Gōpuram. One of them is in Telugu and the others in Tamil and Grantha.[1]

It must be remarked here that the building of the *Gōpuram* should be construed only as that of the *superstructure*. The basement up to the first of the seven tiers has all the features of a Cōḷa structure, as in the eastern and western Gōpurams. All the stone-sculptures in the niches all round the basements are Cōḷa images and a few of them have been inserted with difficulty into the old niches at the time of the repair. Hence Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya's claim of the building of the northern Gōpuram of Chidambaram needs to be understood to apply only to the superstructure; and further, the inscription under discussion leads us to the conclusion that the renovation of this Gōpuram was started by Kṛṣṇa Dēva Rāya and completed by Acyuta Dēva Rāya.

TEXT OF THE INSCRIPTION.

नमस्तुङ्गशिरश्चुम्बिचन्द्रचामरचारवे ।
त्रैलोक्यनगरारम्भमूलस्तम्भाय शम्भवे ॥ १ ॥
शकाब्दे शालिवाहस्य सहस्रेण चतुश्शतैः ।
एकपञ्चाशताशापि गणानां गमिते क्रमात् ॥ २ ॥
विरोधिवत्सरे मासि फाल्गुने भानुवासरे ।
कृष्णपक्षे चन्द्रलक्षे पुण्यायां पञ्चमीतिथौ ॥ ३ ॥
तुङ्गभद्रापगातीरे श्रीविरूपाक्षसन्निधौ ।
कृत्यतो गिरिकन्या वा नित्यतोषवि(धा)यिनः ॥ ४ ॥
स्तुत्यतो यति तृणस्य नृत्यतो हेमसंसदि ।
इदंपरतया योगी कदम्बरचितः .... ॥ ५ ॥
चिदम्बरमहेशस्य पदं परमुपेयुषः ।
अशेषनयनानन्ददायिने मुक्तिदायिने ॥ ६ ॥
रथोत्सवाय रम्याय महते प्रतिवत्सरम् ।
चोळमण्डलराज्ये च वप्तलं पट्टुचावटौ ॥ ७ ॥
विख्याते वीरराजेन्द्रभयदेवळनाडुके ।
वीरनारायणाख्यायां सीमायां चेतुतस्थितम् ॥ ८ ॥

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1. 174 and 175 of 1872—(Telugu) 371 of 1913.

प्रागाशाः पुटवूरुश्री चोळत्तपुरतश्रितम् ।
पूर्वदत्तायुदग्देशो दक्षिणां दिशमाश्रितम् ॥ ९ ॥
पश्चिमामरशूर्पत्तु किलैप्यत्तोदिशं श्रितम् ।
उत्तरामरशूर्पत्तुमेलैपत्तोदिशम् श्रितम् ॥ १० ॥
विळक्कूरुनेडुम्बूरुवन्नियूमैयूरुगम् ।
मुकैयूर् कोडियालाभ्याम् शिरुहाबूरुणांचितम् ॥ ११ ॥
मेय्याற்றார் तेन्मुहैयूरु श्रीमूलस्थानकैर्युतम् ।
वीराणनत्तराजेन्द्र चोलनक्लूरुसंयुतम् ॥ १२ ॥
कुळित्तेवन्कुटीपुத்தார் नेलवाशत् ग्रामकैर्युतम् ।
राजकेशरीनक्लूरु तोरुप्पाटि श(ष)णान्वितम् ॥ १३ ॥
रुद्रशोलैकुळक्कुट्यो विलान्त्यातिकमेडुकम् ।
अटन्तकोळरी नल्लूरि राधानल्लूरुसंयुतम् ॥ १४ ॥
पूर्वेत्र चोळनल्लूरु ग्रामकेणापि संयुतम् ।
पण्णैः पट्टन्वितं लक्ष्मीकुटिग्रामेण संयुतम् ॥ १५ ॥
कल्लियूरन्वितं कोत्तवाशात् ग्रामसमन्वितम् ।
शिறுநெல்वाटकैशिदे विनल्लूर्भ्यां समन्वितम् ॥ १६ ॥
श्रीमदुत्तमचोळेन्द्रनल्लूर्ग्रामेण संयुतम् ।
ख्यातेतिरिलिचोळेन्द्र नल्लूर्ग्रामकसंयुतम् ॥ १७ ॥
जननाध(थ)कत्वनल्लूराक्य(ख्य)ग्रामेण संयुतम् ।
युक्तं कलिकटं तश्रिचोलनल्लूरुणापि च ॥ १८ ॥
युक्तं कलैनेडुम्बूरुग्रामकेण महीयसा ।
युक्तं वटमुकै(खै)यूरुनाम्ना ग्रामेण भास्वतः ॥ १९ ॥
युक्तं नयतराद्येन मङ्गलेन च राजता ।
नल्लूरुणान्वितं कन्तकुमारोपपदेन च ॥ २० ॥
नल्लूरुणा समायुक्तं भूपुरान्तपदादिना ।
युक्तं विरुतराजेन्द्र भयङ्करपदादिना ॥ २१ ॥
नल्लूरुणा सदा सर्वसस्यसंपद्विशोभिना ।
वरोलक्रययवन्तश्रीचोळनल्लूरुसंयुतम् ॥ २२ ॥
वीरनारायणाख्यातनल्लूर्ग्रामवरश्चतम् ।
कावेर्युत्तरतीरे च पुण्ये विरचितस्थितिम् ॥ २३ ॥

कन्तमङ्गळनाम्नापि ग्रामकेण समन्वितम् ।
मङ्गैनल्लूरुणा चापि मरुत्तूर्ग्रामकेण च ॥ २४ ॥
काटात् कुटिनाप्याग्तिक्कुटिनापि च संयुतम् ।
कुर्वाणात्कुटिनाम्ना च ग्रामकेण समन्वितम् ॥ २५ ॥
कलिक्कुव्याह्वयेनापि ग्रामवर्येण संयुतम् ।
कणक्कप्पट्टकैनाम्ना ग्रामकेण समन्वितम् ॥ २६ ॥
इळमङ्गलनाम्ना च ग्रामवर्येण संयुतम् ।
शान्तः पुत्तूरुणा चापि कदिरामङ्गलेन च ॥ २७ ॥
पेरुमङ्गलकेनापि मण्णिप्प क्केन चान्वितम् ।
आन्तैमङ्गलनाम्ना च ग्रामकेण समन्वितम् ॥ २८ ॥
इडैक्कुडियुतं चोळचक्रनल्लूरुसंयुतम् ।
कुमारमङ्गलोपेतम् वरहूकुटिनान्वितम् ॥ २९ ॥
युक्तं कन्तणंपुत्तूर् ग्रामकेण महीयसा ।
तिन्निलैक्कुडिनाम्ना च ग्रामवर्येण संयुतम् ॥ ३० ॥
नेडुंचेर्यन्वितम् कुण्टक्षेत्रेणापि समन्वितम् ।
ग्रामवर्यन्तमप्यम्मयप्यन् वट्टमूरुश्रियम् ॥ ३१ ॥
उदीच्यगोपुरोत्तुङ्गप्राकारालयनिर्मितौ ।
श्रीकुण्टमुरुकूर्सीम्नाः प्राचीमाशामुपाश्रितम् ॥ ३२ ॥
दक्षिणां तिरुवाल्याक्यसीमायां दिशमाश्रितम् ।
कीर्वक्कप्पुत्तकादाशां पश्चिमाम् समुपाश्रितम् ॥ ३३ ॥
कवेरकन्यातीरा उत्तरस्यां दिशि स्थितम् ।
कुलशेखरनल्लूरुमुक्कयामुट्टसंयुतम् ॥ ३४ ॥
ओट्टिमेरन्वितम् तुत्तं वक्किनेल्लूरुसंयुतम् ।
चोळपाण्डियनल्लूरुवडकट्टलैसंयुतम् ॥ ३५ ॥
संयुतं गङ्गैकोण्डचोळनल्लूरुणापि च ।
मधुरान्तकनल्लूरु(கு) नाम्ना ग्रामेण संयुतम् ॥ ३६ ॥
संयुतं राजराजश्री நல்லூருग्रामकेण च ।
वीरनारायणश्रीमन् नेल्लूर्ग्रामसंयुतम् ॥ ३७ ॥
वरारुमொழிदேவश्रीः நெல்லூருग्रामसंयुतम् ।
संयुतम् जननाथश्रीनल्लूर्ग्रामवरेण च ॥ ३८ ॥

श्रीत्रिविक्रमचोळेन्द्रनल्लूरुग्रामसंयुतम् ।
ஒதங் करै देवनाथश्रीनल्लूरुग्रामसंयुतम् ॥ ३९ ॥
राजनारायणख्यात नल्लूरुग्रामसंयुतम् ।
तेनाप्युत्तमचोळेन्द्र नल्लूरुग्रामसंयुतम् ॥ ४० ॥
श्रीत्रिविक्रमचोळेन्द्र नल्लूरुग्रामसंयुतम् ।
ग्रामन्तमपि नामेरु वट्टनामानमुत्तमम् ॥ ४१ ॥
सर्वमान्यश्चतुस्सीमैः संयुतश्च समं ततः ।
निधिनिक्षेपपाषाण सिद्धिसाध्यजलान्वितः ॥ ४२ ॥
अक्षीव्यागामसंयुक्तं समर्पयातिभूरुहम् ।
वापीकूपतटाकैश्च कच्चेनापि समन्वितम् ॥ ४३ ॥
चिदम्बरमहेशेन भोग्यमाचन्द्रतारकम् ।
परितः प्रयतैः स्निग्धैः पुरोहितपुरोगमैः ॥ ४४ ॥
विविधैः विबुधैः श्रौतः पथिकैः अधिकैर्गिरः ।
अच्युतेन्द्रमहाराजो माननीयो मनस्विनाम् ॥ ४५ ॥
सहिपयोधारापूर्वकं दत्तवान्मुदा ।
प्राकारमण्टपोदिव्यगोपुरादिक्रियेशिता ॥ ४६ ॥
पथ्यदेव इति ख्यात नामकस्य तपस्विनः ।
तस्य शिष्यप्रशिष्याणां कल्पिताचन्द्रतारकम् ॥ ४७ ॥
चन्ताप्यट्टकुटीं शुल्कमुख्या सर्वे धनोदया ।
भोग्य चिदम्बरेशेन लिख्यन्ते देशभाषया ॥ ४८ ॥

[Tamil part].

Kallaṇai poṉṉiyuḍaippu aṟuveṭṭu aṟi-maṉaip-piṟakkum-pala-vaṛi puduvaṛi veṭṭivaṛi iḍaitturai āyam aṉuppu araśuperu kāṇi-yaḷarperu śakala Samudāyam-uḷpaḍa Sarvamāṉṉiyamahā-cidambareśvaraṉukku ratōtsvattirkku vīranārāyaṇa Śīmaiyum ammaiyappaṉ vaṭṭattuccīmaiyum ācandrārkam vaḍakku Gōpuram mudalāṉa pala tiruppaṇikkum nāṅgūr vaṭṭattuccīṟmai yācandrār-kam iṇaiyili Kaṉakasapāpati-taṉakku ratōtsava naḍattaveṉ reṇṇi yivar-kiṟṣṇarāya nāyakkar aṟpittiḍa kuḍi-taṅgi utteśittup-paṇiviḍai mahēśvara-raiyuñ-dēvap-pama-raśiyan taṉi-varikkai paṇṇiyuñ-ganumadi-peṟṟu naḷiṭṭup-paṭṭaṇamaha taṉ palam-palippam, aṇiperu Śāḷuvanāyakar kēṭṭu accuta dēva-rāyaṟkku arikkaiyarp-paṇṇi mūvāyiram poṉṉukku tirumaccīmaiyai Śēṟkappaṇai tiruk-kirama-meṇpatti-reṇḍatavum pan mahēśvara rakṣaiyahap-padindu

candiradittavarai lōha-rakṣayai-padi-tiru-viḷā naḍattiḍumē ഉ pan mahēśvara-rakṣai.

LIST OF VILLAGES.

1. Viḷakkūr. (Viḷattūr?)
2. *Neḍumbūr*. (cdm.)
3. *Vaṉṉiyūr* (cdm.)
4. Maiyūr. (Vaiyūr?—71 (114 cdm.)
5. *Mukaiyūr*. (35—174 cdm.)
6. *Koḍiyālam*. (23—170 cdm.)
7. *Siṟukāvūr*. (32—162 Koma.)
8. *Meyyaṟṟūr*. (Meyāttūr 21—187 Koma.)
9. *Teṉ-muhaiyūr*. (No. 5).
10. Śrī-mūlasthānam. (Tiru-mūlastānam 66—232 Mannar.)
11. *Vīrāṇa-natta-Rājēndra-cōḷa Nallūr*. (Vīrāṇanallūr? 80—265 Mannar.)
12. *Kulittēvankuḍi*. (Tevankuḍi 8—157 Mannar.)
13. *Puttūr*. (51—285 Mannar.)
14. *Nelavāśal*. (Neyvāśal? 46 (276 Mannar.)
15. Rājakēsarinallūr.
16. *Toṟuppāḍi*. (Toṟappaḍi 11—169 under Esnai cdm.)
17. *Rudraśōḷai*. (35—271 Mannar.)
18. Kuḷakkuḍi.
19. Vilantiyātika-mēḍu.
20. Adanthakōḷari-nallūr.
21. *Rātha-nallūr*, 52 (179)—Mannar.
22. Pūrvetṟa-Śōḷa-nallūr.
23. *Paṇṇaippaṭṭu*. (41—163 cdm.)
24. *Lakṣmīkuḍi*. (34—182 Mannar.)
25. *Kalliyūr*. (Kaliyamalai? 14 (290) Mannar.)
26. *Kōttavāśal*. (25—18 Mannar.)
27. Śiṟunelvāḍai.
28. Śrīdevinallūr.
29. Śrīmat-*uttama Śōḷēndranallūr*. (Uttama Śōḷamaṅgalam?)
30. Edirili Śōḷendranallūr.
31. Jananāthaka (tva) nallūr.
32. *Kalikadinda-Śrī-Śōḷa-nallūr*. (Kalikaḍandan).
33. *Kalai-naḍumbūr*. (Kiḻ-neḍumbūr?)
34. *Vaḍamukkaiyūr*. (No. 5 & 9).
35. Nayata Rājendramaṅgalam.
36. Rājatānallur.

37. Kandakumāranallūr.
38. Bhūpurāntakanallūr.
39. Virudha Rājēndra—Bhayānkaranallūr.
40. Varōlagiṟi-yavanda Śrī Śoḷa-nallūr.
41. Vīranārāyaṇa Nallūr.
42. *Kaṇḍa-maṅgalam.*
43. *Maṅgai-nellūr.* (Maṅganallūr).
44. Maruttūr.
45. Kādātkuḍi.
46. *Āttikkuḍi.*
47. *Kurvāṇatkuḍi* (Kurumaṉakkuḍi).
48. Kalitkuḍi.
49. Kaṉakkaṟpattū.
50. Iḷamaṅgalam.
51. Śandapputtūr.
52. *Kadirāmaṅgalam.*
53. *Perumaṅgalam.*
54. Maṉṉipaḷḷam.
55. Āndaimaṅgalam.
56. Iḍaikkuḍi.
57. Śōḷakkaranallūr.
58. Kumāramaṅgalam.
59. Varahūkuḍi.
60. Kandanaputtūr.
61. *Teṉṉilaikkuḍi.*
62. Neduñjēri.
63. Kuṇḍakṣētram.
64. *Ammayappaṉ Vattamūr,* (Ammayappaṉpeṭṭai?) (for the construction of the Northern Gopuram).
65. Kulaśekharanallūr.
66. Muḷḷiyūr.
67. *Muṭṭam,* (on the Coleroon.) 43—224 Mannar.
68. Oṭṭimēru.
69. Tutta-valli-nellūr.
70. Śōḷa-pāṇḍya-nallūr.
71. Vaḍa-kaṭṭaḷai.
72. *Gaṅgai-koṇḍa-Śōḷa-nallūr,* (Gaṅgaikoṇḍa-Śōḷapuram?)
73. *Madhurāntaka-nallūr,* 29 (156).
74. Rāja Rāja Śrīnallūr.
75. Vīra nārayaṇa Śrīmaṉ nallūr.

76. *Arumaḷi-dēva-śrī-nallūr*, (Arumoḻidevaṉ?) 5—55 Porto Novo.
77. Jananātha Śrī-nallūr.
78. Śrī Tirivikrama Śōḷa nallūr.
79. Teṉkarai-devanātha Śrīnallūr.
80. Rāja-nārāyaṇa (tekiyatha) nallūr.
81. Uttama-Śōḷendra-nallūr.
82. Śrī-Trivikrama-Śōḷa-nallūr.

The villages in italics are those which can be identified with modern villages.

No. 25.—Kalliyūr may be the same as Kalliyūrmūlai referred to in the Tiruvendipuram record of Rājarāja III as a place sacked by the Hoyśālas in their campaign against Kōpperuñjiṅga. Kaliyamalai may be a corrupt form of Kalliyūrmūlai. It is on the bank of the Vīraṇam tank and near Eḻḻeṟi, the other village mentioned in the same record.

cdm.=Chidambaram Sub-dist.
Porto.=Porto Novo ,,
Mannar.=Mannargudi ,,
Koma.=Komaratchi ,,

The numbers after each village represent the serial number and old Survey numbers according to the List of Names of villages and their hamlets in South Arcot District.

LECTURE ON 'RĀMO DVIRNĀBHIBHĀṢATE'*, (RĀMA SPEAKS NOT TWICE)

BY

K. BALASUBRAHMANYA AIYAR, B.A., B.L.

Mr. Chairman and Friends,

I am, indeed, thankful to the authorities of the Sanskrit Academy for affording me an opportunity to place the humble offering of my heart at the feet of the greatest national poet of India. It is a happy coincidence that I am privileged to do so to-day under the immediate guidance of you, Sir, who bear the thrice-blessed name of Śrī Rāma and for whose scholarship and intellectual calibre we here have great regard. Friends, this is a most sacred and auspicious day not only for all pious Hindus but for all students and lovers of literature. It is but fitting that we should on this day pay our tribute of profound admiration, aesthetic ecstasy and religious devotion, to the immortal bard of India who sang the eternal glories of Śrī Rāmacandra, in verses of dulcet symphony and magnetic poetic appeal. तन्त्रीलयसमन्वितम्, सर्वश्रुतिमनोहरम्, परं कवीनाम् आधारम् ॥

For, Vālmīki, alone among the world's greatest poets, achieved the almost impossible task of projecting on the canvas of time the picture of the hero of his poem and spiritualising the name Rāma into a Tārakamantra for the salvation of mankind. While Achilles of Homer is transfixed in fable, the hero of the Rāmāyaṇa is God incarnate to millions of our countrymen. It is mainly due to the poetic genius of Vālmīki that the Rāmatāpanī Upaniṣad declared in clear terms तारकं दीर्घानलं बिन्दुपूर्वकं पुनर्मायनमः ।

Kālidāsa, himself one of the world's greatest poets and an ardent admirer and follower of Vālmīki, suggests in his characteristic covert poetic manner that the Rāmanāma, in the spiritual plane is identical with the Praṇavamantra.

राम इत्यभिरामेण वपुषा तस्य चोदितः ।
नामधेयम् ऋषिश्चक्रे जगत्प्रथममङ्गलम् ॥

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* Delivered before the Sanskrit Academy, Madras, on the occasion of the Vālmīki Day Celebration, April, 1938.

"The great seer induced by his attractive figure named him Rāma which is really the foremost Maṅgala of the Universe (Oṅkāra). That is why Vasiṣṭha in the Śloka is not referred to by name but is appropriately styled 'Ṛṣi'—a seer of Mantras. Saint Tyāgarāja, an intense devotee of Rāma, in one of his musical compositions, expounds the nature of the Rāma-Mantra thus:—

శివమంత్రమునకు మాజీవము మాధవమంత్రమునకు రాజీవము ఈవివరము తెలిశిన ఘనులకు మ్రొక్కేదా ॥[1]

"The two letters Rā and Ma are each taken from the two great Mantras of Namo Nārāyaṇāya and Nāmaḥ Śivāya". The Muslim Saint Kabir, in his poems, gave expression to his mystic experience of the spiritual efficacy of the Rāma-Mantra and the great Mahratta Saint and patriot, Samartha Rāmdās, fired the great Śivāji to heroic deeds and noble endeavours by giving him the Upadeśa of the Rāma-Mantra. The Tamil poet in one of his magnificent outpourings sang thus :—

நன்மையும் செல்வமும் நாளு நல்குமே
தின்மையும் பாவமும் சிதைந்து தேயுமே
சன்மமும் மரணமு மின்றி தீருமே
திம்மை ராமவென் றிரண்டெ ழுத்தினால்.

and Tulsidās proclaimed in clear tones and broadcasted throughout the length and breadth of Northern India the words "Rāmnām Satya he" which, even to this day in Benares, are uttered by the pall-bearers to soothe the dull cold ear of Death.

Friends, the Rāmāyaṇa has a never-waning charm and touches the innermost chords of our being. He who reads the Ādikāvya, with taste, culture and devotion, cannot help deriving all through life aesthetic joy and moral inspiration from its cryptic, exquisite and chiselled phrases. The aching heart will find consolation in their soothing messages, and the sensitive conscience its moral strength, and the searching intellect its spiritual illumination.

The Sanskrit Academy therefore did a great service when, in 1935, it collected some of these beautiful sentences and phrases and published the Rāmāyaṇa Diary. On looking into it at page, February 7th, you will read the sentence रामो द्विर्नाभिभाषते ।

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1. शिवमन्त्रमुनकु माजीवमु माधवमन्त्रमुनकु राजीवमु ईविवरमु तेलिशिन घनुलकु म्रोक्केदा ॥

In what a simple and artless language it is couched, yet fit to point the moral and adorn a tale! It has got an aphoristic flair. It is the end of a Śloka in chapter 18 of the Ayodhyākāṇḍa which, on the first cursory reading, appears an ordinary verse with no striking merit or significance. Yet, read with some care and imagination, one realises it forms the prelude to the story of Rāma's great renunciation and furnishes the key to the true understanding of the tragedy of heroic sacrifice and suffering. The words are put by the poet in the mouth of Rāma himself and hence have a profound significance not only as a frank revelation by the great hero and superman himself of his true spirit, but also as conveying a high ethical ideal for common humanity. They occur at the beginning of a great crisis. Invited to the presence of the King, his father, on the morning of the day ordained for his Abhiṣeka, Rāma enters his father's bedchamber and, to his surprise, finds the King, his face darkened with grief, seated with Kaikeyī. On seeing him, the King groaned "Rāma" and, thereafter with eyes full of tears, was unable to look at him or speak to him. Having never before seen the King, his father, in that sad plight, naturally Rāma, in great confusion and fear, eagerly enquired the reason for it. The King answered not but Kaikeyī spoke instead. She naively told him that the King had given her a boon and finding himself caught in a difficult situation was unable to speak to Rāma for fear of him. If Rāma was prepared to abide, she added, by what the King said good or bad and if it should be that the King's words should not become futile, she was prepared to tell him, though the King might never do so. Thus, taunted by her, with the possibilty of his disobeying or not paying heed to the words of his father, Rāma, anxious to remove her doubts and please her, addressed these words:—

अहो धिङ्नार्हसे देवि वक्तुं मामीदृशं वचः ।
अहं हि वचनाद्राज्ञः पतेयमपि पावके ॥
भक्षयेयं विषं तीक्ष्णं मज्जेयमपि चार्णवे ।
नियुक्तो गुरुणा पित्रा नृपेण च हितेन च ॥
तद्ब्रूहि वचनं देवि राज्ञो यदभिकाङ्क्षितम् ।
करिष्ये प्रतिजाने च रामो द्विर्नाभिभाषते ॥ Ayodhyā., 18, 28-30.

"It is most unfortunate that you should speak thus to me. If the King, my father directs, I am ready to fall into the fire or to drink virulent poison or be drowned in the sea. Tell me,

lady, therefore what the King desires. I shall do it, I promise, Rāma speaks not twice" It is then, Kaikeyī revealed to Rāma the substance of the two boons promised by her husband, the coronation of Bharata in his stead and Rāma's banishment into the Daṇḍaka forest for fourteen long years. Before narrating what Kaikeyī said, the poet, true artist that he is, interposes the following verse:—

तमार्जवसमायुक्तमनार्या सत्यवादिनम् ।
उवाच रामं कैकेयी वचनं भृशदारुणम् ॥ Ayodhyā., 18, 31.

which echoes, as it were, the feelings of the reader. Poor Rāma, when he uttered these words, could have little suspected to what extreme dangers he was subjecting himself.

Students of Indian literature know what a profound impression this sentence रामो द्विर्नाभिभाषते has made on the minds of the scholars and readers of the Rāmāyaṇa. The Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa, which closely follows the narrative as found in the Rāmāyaṇa but uses different language, at this place reiterates this sentence in the following verse:—

अतः करोमि तत् सर्वं यन्मामाह पिता मम ।
सत्यं सत्यं करोम्येव रामो द्विर्नाभिभाषते ॥

which suggests to us the meaning to be given to the expression, in its view. The Mahānāṭaka—a work whose authorship is not known but is ascribed by tradition to Hanumān—weaves a whole Śloka out of this expression in which the other pādas are of the same pattern and hit beautifully the similar fundamental aspects of Rāma's character. The verse runs thus:

द्विर्ददाति न चार्थिभ्यो द्विस्स्थापयति नाश्रितान् ।
द्विश्शरान्नैव सन्धत्ते रामो द्विर्नाभिभाषते ॥

This has found its way into the anthology Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra also. The Saint Tyāgarāja, a great devotee of Rāma, in one of his beautiful Telugu musical compositions echoes it but puts the idea in the positive form.

ఒక మాట ఒక బాణము ఒక పత్ని వ్రతు డేమనసా ॥
ఒక చిత్తము గలవాడే ఒక నాడును మరవకవే ॥[1]

Now analysing with some care the full implications and suggestions of this expression, we may say that three main ideas are

1. ओक माट ओक बाणमु ओकपत्निव्रतुडेमनसा ।
ओक चित्तमु गळवाडे ओक नाडुनु मरवकवे ॥

conveyed to our mind. In the context it may mean that Rāma will never say nay to what his father directs. In colloquial parlance we often say அவன் சொல்லுகிறதற்கு இரண்டு சொல்ல மாட்டேன், and the same popular idiom may be said to be used here by the poet. The second idea is, it is in the nature of Rāma never to make a pronouncement and then to detract from it. Once he makes it, he is prepared to follow it up by direct action to the fullest extent to which his utterance leads one to expect. In this sense, he will not speak of it again and has no need to do so. It is this idea that is suggested by the Adhyātma Rāmāyaṇa and by the Mahānāṭaka and by Saint Tyāgarāja. The third idea is that Rāma speaks direct and straight from his heart with a full knowledge of the consequences of what he says. He does not camouflage or indulge in diplomatic language, never equivocates or speaks with mental reservations. He speaks out clearly and forcibly his inmost thoughts and conveys the full implications to the hearer and does not attempt later, when the time for action comes, to interpret his utterance in a manner different from what the language conveyed to the hearer at the time and justify himself by pleading that the circumstances in which the words were spoken were different. Commenting on this expression Tilaka says, "What is said, is said, I shall not revert to this a second time by urging in justification the non-existing circumstances". Rāghava Śiromaṇi, another commentator annotates thus: "I shall not say anything contrary to what I have promised". Govindarāja, however, gives quite a different meaning in which the expression has no separate significance at all. According to him, the purport is "without promising, I shall never say it again". The occasion for saying it again is only for emphasising the promise. The commentator, Maheśvara Tīrtha, agrees more or less with Tilaka. Now we can well realise what an intimate bearing the ideas conveyed by this expression have on the moral ideal to be kept in view by us in our lives. Few can lay their hands on their hearts and say boldly like Rāma "I speak not a second time". In the case of every one of us, occasions arise when we are tested by what we have said, praised or blamed as the case may be for following up or not by action what we promise or declare, without any fear of consequence and regardless of any harm or prejudice to ourselves. Occasions may also arise when we shall be tempted to plead excuses or attempt justification of altered circumstances or interpret what

we have said by giving a different meaning and saying "this is what I really meant" or to use diplomatic language and to escape from doing the duty arising in the situation. It is then that we shall have need to remember this sentence. As citizens, as members of society, of an enlightened public, as voters or candidates in elections and in our many social, domestic, economic or political relations we shall have to stand the trial of this test. Those who occupy high places as leaders of thought, of political parties, as statesmen, as rulers or ministers are subjected at the bar of public opinion to this test in a much greater degree. It is the successful pursuit of the ideal of 'Rāmo dvirnābhibhāṣate' that has endeared Gandhiji to all and earned for him the unique appellation of Mahātmā. Statesmen at the helm of affairs in modern states and great political leaders are showing much less regard for this ideal and modern international morality seems to ignore it altogether. Even the much-maligned Kauṭilya of ancient India in his Arthaśāstra emphasises the value of the spoken word in international relations. But now 'dictators' and war-lords defy the sanctity of it openly and earn glory and reputation. The progress of civilisation and culture and the complicated conditions and requirements of modern society render it still more difficult to practise this ancient virtue of नद्विर्भाषणं and it is an irony of things that the less cultured and unsophisticated minds are able to achieve success in a greater measure.

But in considering the application of high ethical ideals to the conduct of men it has to be borne in mind that the moral world is not governed by abstract and absolute standards unrelated to the time, place, conditions and circumstances in which the moral duty arises and unqualified by conflicting and overriding considerations which emerge out of the particular situation in which an individual may be placed. Though Patañjali in his Yoga Sūtras, Chapter II, Sūtra 31,

जातिदेशकालसमयानवच्छिन्नाः सार्वभौमाः महाव्रतम् ।

refers to this absolute ideal as Mahāvrata and Sārvabhauma, the Vyāsa Bhāṣya on this Sūtra makes it clear that this Mahāvrata is intended for the initiated few and is not of general application. The Hindu sages and moralists have always been keenly alive to the limitations of practical life and the Dharma Śāstras emphasize only the relative standard· जातिदेशकालसमयावच्छिन्नधर्माः.

For example, while Manu applauds the glorious ideal of speaking the truth, he yet recognises the limitations of it. According to him, it is not incumbent upon a person to speak the unpleasant truth

सत्यं ब्रूयात् प्रियं ब्रूयात् न ब्रूयात् सत्यमप्रियम् । Manu, IV, 138.

Courtesy and gentlemanliness and the smooth working of society require that we should not always speak out what we feel. The great Śaṅkara recognises this necessity in his commentary on the text of the Praśna Upaniṣad. तेषामसौ विरजो ब्रह्मलोकः नयेषु जिह्ममनृतं न माया in the following

यथा गृहस्थानाम् अनेकविरुद्धसंव्यवहारप्रयोजनवत्त्वात् जिह्ममवश्यंभावि यथा च गृहस्थानां क्रीडादिनिमित्तमनृतमवर्जनीयम् ॥

A famous English writer has said "it is society that makes us liars." The Mahābhārata Ādi Parvan refers to five exceptions wherein we commit no sin by falsehood, in the following verse:—

न नर्मयुक्तं वचनं हिनस्ति न स्त्रीषु राजन् न विवाहकाले ।
प्राणात्यये सर्वधनापहारे पञ्चानृतान्याहुरपातकानि ॥

The principle underlying these exceptions has been explained in another place in the Śānti Parvan by Śrī Kṛṣṇa in this way: It is of supreme importance that Dharma must be maintained and the welfare and happiness of the greatest number achieved, and hence even falsehood uttered for the sake of upholding Dharma and for the maintenance of the welfare and stability of society is no falsehood. In illustration of the principle, he refers to the story of the Brāhmin Kauśika who lived in a place outside a village, having taken the vow of speaking the truth and nothing but truth at all times and at all hazards. Once, a good traveller afraid of the pursuit of high-way men concealed himself in a bush nearby and Kauśika knew it. The highway men in search of him accosted Kauśika and asked him where the traveller was. Kauśika in fulfilment of his vow informed the robbers of the traveller's hiding place. Speaking the truth in this situation is not to be applauded at all but is even reprehensible. Kṛṣṇa says:—

अहिंसार्थं च भूतानां धर्मप्रवचनं कृतम् ।
प्रभवार्थं च भूतानां धर्मप्रवचनं कृतम् ॥

यस्मात् प्रभवसंयुक्तः स धर्म इति निश्चयः ।
धारणाद् धर्म इत्याहुः धर्मो धारयते प्रजाः ॥
यस्मात् धारणसंयुक्तः स धर्म इति निश्चयः ।
Karṇaparva, 77, 57-59 (Southern Recension)
तस्मात् धर्मार्थमनृतमुक्त्वा नानृतवाग्भवेत् ॥ Do. 77, 66.
तेनाधर्मेण महता वाग्दुरुक्तेन कौशिकः ।
गतः सुकष्टं निरयं धर्मसूक्ष्मेष्वतत्त्ववित् ॥ Do. 77, 52.

Similarly, in regard to the absolute Ahiṁsā ideal, the limitations are well recognised. Manu says:—

गुरुं वा बालवृद्धौ वा ब्राह्मणं वा बहुश्रुतम् ।
आततायिनमायान्तं हन्यादेवाविचारयन् ॥ Manu, VIII, 350.

It is argued by him that the killer does not incur the sin of killing but the villain is killed by his own unrighteousness.

Even under our modern criminal law, the right of self-defence within limitations is accepted. On the principle of Svadharma, the killing of fish is permitted for the fishermen and of animals for the hunters in the forest and war for a Kṣattriya. On medical grounds, to save the life of the mother, the child has to be sacrificed.

So also, as regards the duty to obey and serve our parents, there are well known exceptions. If what the parent directs is unrighteous, there is no such duty. It is said in the Rāmāyaṇa

गुरोरप्यवलिप्तस्य कार्याकार्यमजानतः ॥
उत्पथं प्रतिपन्नस्य कार्यं भवति शासनम् ॥ Ayodhyā, 21, 13.

In modern days, the call of service to our motherland may override one's duty to one's parents. A young man having the patriotic urge may have joined the non-cooperation movement in disobedience of the wishes or directions of his father.

It is the duty of a king even to punish his own father if he is guilty of any crime, and Manu declares "May he be a father or a preceptor or a friend or a son or a priest, may she be a mother or wife, if he has not behaved according to his own duties, he is not unpunishable for the king."

पिताचार्यः सुहृन्माता भार्या पुत्रः पुरोहितः ।
नादण्ड्यो नाम राज्ञोऽस्ति यः स्वधर्मे न तिष्ठति ॥ Manu, VIII, 335.

And acting on this principle king Sagara of the Sūrya Vaṁśa and an ancestor of Rāma, banished his son for crimes committed by him.

From the foregoing, let nobody run away with the impression that the high ideals of speaking the truth or of Ahiṁsā have been lowered in our country. The charge was levelled by Lord Curzon when he was Viceroy of India that the ideal of truth was not so high in India as in the West. But the land on whose soil the tragedy of Hariścandra was enacted need not fear comparison with the rest of the world. Nor need the country which has in modern times produced the greatest apostle of non-violence and truth be afraid of the charge of lowering the standard. I remember during the days when the Montagu-Chelmsford reforms were in the making, Mr. Lionel Curtis defended himself against the charge of having broken the promise of keeping the secret of the diarchy proposals by stating that he did so in the interests of the country. There is also another well-known head of exceptions recognised by the Dharma Śāstras, namely Āpaddharma, in times of distress or difficulty or necessity. The general principle is recognised that if the strict adherence to the absolute standard will be productive of harm or will violate other equally important standards of duty, then escape from strict adherence to the absolute ideal is desirable and is permitted. The story is told in the Mahābhārata Karṇa Parva that Yudhiṣṭhira hit by the arrows of Karṇa upbraided Arjuna for not killing him in battle and asked him to give up his Gāṇḍīva to Kṛṣṇa. Arjuna at once took his sword to kill his brother. When Kṛṣṇa asked him the reason for this hasty and sinful step, Arjuna informed him that he had made a vow in the days of his youth that whoever insulted him by asking him to give up his Gāṇḍīva, should be at once killed by him and that he was bound to fulfil this vow. Then Kṛṣṇa vehemently dissuaded him, because, in fulfilling this vow he would be guilty of the heinous sin of fratricide. Thus we see the difficulty of determining the propriety of a particular course of action becomes great. Hence the Mahābhārata says:—सूक्ष्मा गतिर्हि धर्मस्य ॥

In the Tulādhāra-Jājali conversations about धर्मरहस्य in the Śānti Parvan, Tulādhāra, the Vaiśya, says "As morality is subtle and complicated, one very often does not know what it is."

सूक्ष्मत्वान्न स विज्ञातुं शक्यते बहुनिर्णयः ॥ Śāntiparva, 268, 37.

Should Rāma therefore have sacrificed the throne and gone to the forest? He need not have; but he did. Therein lies the essence of the tragedy. All round him would have applauded and welcomed the opposite decision. Lakṣmaṇa held the opinion that it was no duty on his part to obey his father who gave the direction without any powers of discrimination and in utter disregard of his kingly duties. The principle of conduct according to him is to be found in the Śloka

गुरोरप्यवलिप्तस्य कार्याकार्यमजानतः ।
उत्पथं प्रतिपन्नस्य कार्यं भवति शासनम् ॥ Ayodhyā., 21, 13.

"Even a father or preceptor who, disregarding what ought to be done and what ought not to be done, takes up defiantly the wrong path deserves punishment." This verse occurs in four or five places in the Mahābhārata also. According to Kausalyā, the duty of serving his mother was even superior to obeying the directions of the father. But, perhaps the most reasoned and powerful argument against the course adopted by Rāma came from Bharata. He took up two positions, one, the established law of the State being that the eldest son succeeded to the throne, the king had no power to deviate from this law of succession and to bestow the kingdom on Bharata. Hence he argued that it was no duty of Rāma to obey the king's directions and act according to the desire of his father. Secondly, it was Rāma's duty as a Kṣattriya to rule the kingdom and to work for the happiness and welfare of his nation and therefore to assert his right of inheritance to the throne. It was wrong, he argued therefore, to fly from the post of duty and adopt the life of an ascetic. The larger duty to the State superseded, according to him, the inferior one of practising the family virtue of obeying his father and the individual virtue of keeping his word to Kaikeyī.

शाश्वतोऽयं सदा धर्मः स्थितोऽस्मासु नरर्षभ ।
ज्येष्ठे पुत्रे स्थिते राजा न कनीयान् नृपो भवेत् ॥ Ayodhyā., 101, 2.

He pleads eloquently on that momentous occasion when the brothers meet at the Citrakūṭa Hill in the presence of a distinguished gathering of the picked men of the Kosaladeśa, the ministers and learned sages and the Ṛṣis of the Daṇḍaka forest thus:—

क चारण्यं क च क्षात्रं क जटाः क च पालनम् ।
ईदृशं व्याहतं कर्म न भवान् कर्तुमर्हति ॥

एष हि प्रथमो धर्मः क्षत्रियस्याभिषेचनम् । Ayodhyā., 106, 18-19.
अथ क्लेशजमेव त्वं धर्मं चरितुमिच्छसि ।
धर्मेण चतुरो वर्णान् पालयन् क्लेशमाप्नुहि ॥ Ayodhyā., 106, 21-22.

To the first position of Bharata, Rāma's answer was that it was not so clearly established that the succession to the throne was his and refers to the fact that the king even at the time of his marriage with Kaikeyī had settled, in consideration of the marriage, the kingdom on the heirs born of Kaikeyī and that the kingdom had been gifted as a Śulka to her.

पुरा भ्रातः पिता नः स मातरं ते समुद्वहन् ।
मातामहे समश्रौषीत् राज्यशुल्कमनुत्तमम् ॥ Ayodhyā., 107, 3.

He also pleads to Bharata to look at it from another aspect. He argued that it was in the power of the father to divide his inheritance among his sons, and as part of that arrangement to give the throne of Kosala to Bharata and allot the Daṇḍaka forest to Rāma. The second position required a more serious answer, and here Rāma took up the stand that the standards of individual morality and the duty of attaining individual perfection are superior even to the considerations of State and to the Dharma of a Kṣattriya and the duty of service to his subjects and fellowmen. He says decisively in the following verse:—

प्रत्यगात्ममिमं धर्मं सत्यं पश्याम्यहं ध्रुवम् ।
भारः सत्पुरुषैश्चीर्णस्तदर्थमभिमन्यते ॥
क्षात्रं धर्ममहं त्यक्ष्ये ह्यधर्मं धर्मसंहितम् ।
क्षुद्रैर्नृशंसैर्लुब्धैश्च सेवितं पापकर्मभिः ॥ Ayodhyā., 109, 19-20.

and argues that after all the duty of a Kṣattriya involved cruelty and injury to others and considerations of State must be subject to the highest standards of individual morality and perfection. One will readily see that the position taken up by Rāma is in sharp contrast to that taken up by the Lord on the field of battle in the Mahābhārata. He there acclaims the principle of Svadharma and applauds the duty of a Kṣattriya to fight and assert his right even though it involved being arrayed in battle against one's own parents, elders and preceptors and the duty to the State is superior to the duty to one's own family.

धर्म्याद्धि युद्धाच्छ्रेयोऽन्यत् क्षत्रियस्य न विद्यते ॥ Gītā, II. 31.

He said it was wrong on the part of a Kṣattriya to prefer the life of an ascetic. The reading of the Rāmāyaṇa indicates to us what according to Vālmīki was the solution for this ethical puzzle. It is wrong to give up one's duty to work for the attainment of one's individual perfection. It is also not right on the part of a person to give up his Svadharma or to disregard his duties which appertain to his particular status in life or to look upon his duty to his fellowmen and to his country as at all inferior to these things. The reconciliation therefore is to be found in the individual trying to perfect himself and then to work for the welfare of his fellowmen. This has been the ideal adopted by the great men of this country. It was in pursuance of this ideal that the Great Buddha renounced his throne and led the life of an ascetic for years and attained Buddhahood and then returned to the cities of his country to work for the spiritual and moral happiness of his fellowmen. It is again in the same spirit that the great Śaṅkara fled from the world even at the age of five but to return to it after years of hard striving towards individual perfection and to work for the welfare of humanity and to travel incessantly throughout the length and breadh of the country to preach his great doctrine and bring salvation and happiness to mankind. Again, imbued with this ideal it was, that the great Vidyāraṇya, even after becoming an ascetic, led his strenuous worldly life of a Minister to the king of Vijayanagara, and the great Mahratta Saint Samartha Rāmdās in the midst of his ascetic life of devotion and non-attachment to family and country, took upon himself the task of inspiring his disciple the great Śivāji to work for the restoration of Hindu Dharma and the establishment of a Hindu Empire in India. We may say therefore without exaggeration that the way was shown to these great ones of our land by Vālmīki of yore. The conflict between Pratyagātma Dharma and Kṣātra Dharma has appeared in modern times in a different garb, *i.e.* between individual freedom and the dignity of the Human Personality and the tyrannous claims of the totalitarian State. The modern age has to solve it. In the proper solution of this conflict lie the safety and happiness of humanity. Humanity's realization of itself and of the world can be attained only by an ever-increasing liberation of the values

that are universal and human. True creative art consists in evolving a tragic episode of sacrifice and suffering from unpromising events or incidents. As Sir Radhakrishnan says: "To produce an impression of terror, Schiller sets a whole town on fire, throws infants into the flames and locks up old men in old towers. Shakespeare drops a handkerchief and freezes our blood". Vālmīki drops a phrase and melts our hearts.

MA'BAR (FROM 1311 TO 1323 A.D.).

BY

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The history of Ma'bar during the years which immediately followed the departure of Malik Kāfūr about the middle of 1311 A.D. is obscure. The trend of events is not definitely known; and the few known facts, which throw a feeble ray of light on the prevailing gloom of the unknown, have given rise to much speculation. An attempt is made in the following pages to take stock of the known facts and learn what information they actually yield about the progress of events during this period.

I

Malik Kāfūr is said to have raided Ma'bar as far as Rāmēś-varam and established a garrison under a governor at Madura, before he set out on his return journey to Dehli.

'The expeditions into the Deccan conducted by the eunuch Malik Kāfūr, the infamous favourite of the Sultan, ended in 1311 .... The Hindu kingdoms of the Yādava dynasty of Deogiri (Daulatābād), the Hoysala dynasty of Mysore, ... and of the Ma'bar or the Coromandel coast were plundered and to a certain extent subjugated. Mussalman governors were established even at Madura, the ancient capital of the Pāṇḍyas.'[1]

'There seems, however, little doubt that he (Malik Kāfūr) left a garrison behind in Madura, the head-quarters of the Pāṇḍya Kulaśēkhara, who had fled for protection to Dehli. Whether the garrison was left to safeguard the interests of Kulaśēkhara is not clearly stated, but seems quite likely. There are good reasons for believing that a Mussalman garrison continued in Madura.'[2]

The establishment of a military garrison and a governor at Madura by Malik Kāfūr is a myth of recent origin. There is

1. Smith; Oxford History, p. 233.
2. S. K. Aiyangar: South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders: p. 123.

absolutely no evidence in support of the opinions cited above; and the flimsy grounds on which they are adumbrated are too thoroughly exposed by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri to need further consideration.[1] There is, however, one point which deserves some comment. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar states in the passage quoted already that the Pāṇḍya Kulaśēkhara (an obvious slip for Sundara, as pointed out by Prof. Nilakanta Sastri) fled for protection to Dehli and that Malik Kāfūr left a garrison at Madura, at the end of his Ma'bar compaign, to protect him. This statement is partly based on Wassāf who briefly describes the history of Ma'bar during this period.[2] Sundara Pāṇḍya, who according to him, was defeated by his brother in the middle of the year 710 A.H., fled to the court of 'Alā-ud-Dīn for protection.

Now, the middle of 710 A. H. corresponds to November 1310 A.D.; and it was exactly about this time that Malik Kāfūr's expedition started from Dehli.[3] Since Wassāf does not give the exact date of Sundara Pāṇḍya's flight to Dehli, it may be presumed that he might have reached the city before the starting of the expedition; but this is contradicted by Wassāf as well as Amīr Khusrau.

"In the month of Rajab of the year 710 A.H.", says Wassāf, "the appointed leaders, accompanied by a select army, were despatched to conquer Ma'bar, and some of the towns were obtained through the animosity which has lately arisen between the two brothers; when at last a large army, attended by numerous elephants of war, was sent out to oppose the Muhammadans, Malik Nabu, who thought himself a very Saturn, was obliged to retreat and bring back his army."[4]

It is obvious that when Malik Kāfūr entered Ma'bar the fratricidal war was still in progress; and neither of the two brothers had obviously gained any advantage over the other. This is corroborated by the evidence of Amīr Khusrau. While Malik Kāfūr lay encamped at Bandri, he sent scouts into the Hoysala country to obtain intelligence about the state of affairs.

1. The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom, pp. 207-8.
2. E. D., iii, p. 54.
3. In the month of Rajab 710, according to Wassāf; 24th Jumādi II 710 A.H. according to Khusrau.
4. E. D., iii, p. 88.

'He was informed', says Khusrau, 'that the two Rāis of Ma'bar, the eldest named Bīr Pāṇḍya, and the youngest Sundar Pāṇḍya, who had up to that time continued on friendly terms, had advanced against each other with hostile intentions, and that Bilāl Deo, the Rāi of Dhur Samandar, on learning this fact, had marched for the purpose of sacking their two empty cities.'[1]

It may, however, be pointed out, as in fact was done by Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, that Sundara Pāṇḍya did not seek help from the Sultan directly but 'from the Nāib of the Sultan, Malik Kāfūr who was then in the South. Sundara's appeal gave occasion for interference, if such an occasion was necessary for Malik Kāfūr at all.'[2] This was, no doubt, a possibility, which, however, does not appear to have taken a material shape. Malik Kāfūr's conduct during the Ma'bar campaign clearly indicates that there existed at the time no bonds of friendship or alliance between him and Sundara. As soon as Kāfūr completed the spoliation of Vīra Pāṇḍya's territory, he proceeded to the south against Sundara, attacked his capital, and set fire to the temple of his favourite deity. Sundara had to flee from his capital with all his family and treasures to save himself and all those that were immediately connected with him from the rapacity of the invader. If Sundara had met previously Malik Kāfūr on the way and solicited help from him, Kāfūr would not have attacked him in the way in which he had done. Neither 'Alā-ud-Dīn nor his deputy is ever known to have attacked an ally. It is evident that Sundara did not seek help from Dehli directly or otherwise until Malik Kāfūr's departure from Ma'bar. Therefore his flight to the court of Sultan 'Alā-ud-Dīn must be assigned to a later date.

II

The departure of the Mussalman invaders from their country did not free the princes and the people of Ma'bar from foreign enemies. Another invader came soon from the south, and he showed no inclination to return to his own country. This was Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara, the king of Kēraḷa; and he marched to Kāñcī in 1313 A. D., and crowned himself the king of Ma'bar on the banks of the Vēgavatī. It is believed that 'the unsettled state of the country consequent on the Mussalman invasion and

1. E.D., iii, p. 88.
2. South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders, p. 96.

the confusion that prevailed in the land immediately after it, seem to have offered a nice opportunity for the Kēraḷa king to seek his way to the place.'[1] The presence of Ravivarman is thus seen to be due to an act of aggression actuated by motives of conquest. A few facts pertaining to his career deserve reconsideration, as they seem to represent his character in a new light. The main incidents of his life are set forth in his inscriptions engraved on the walls of the shrines of Aruḷāḷanātha at Kāñcī and of Śrī Raṅganātha at Śrīraṅgam. Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara was the son of Jayasiṁha of Kēraḷa and his queen Umādēvī. He was born in S. 1188 (1266-67 A.D.); defeated his enemies, and married the daughter of a Pāṇḍyan prince; he took possession of Kēraḷa in his 33rd year (1299-1300 A.D.); vanquished Vīra Pāṇḍya, made the Pāṇḍyas and Cōḷas subjects of Kēraḷas, and crowned himself king of Ma'bar on the banks of the Vēgavatī at the age of 46 (*i.e.* 1312-13 A. D.); subdued the Pāṇḍyas, Cōḷas and Kēraḷas, chased Vīra Pāṇḍya to Koṅkaṇa, thence to the forests, conquered the northern country, and returned to Kāñcī where in the 4th year of his reign he made a gift of some land to the temple of Aruḷāḷanātha.[2]

Now, this inscription mentions two starting points of the reign of Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara: (1) The 33rd year of his age corresponding to 1299-1300 A.D., when he commenced to rule over Kēraḷa; and, (2) another, reckoned from an unknown date, the fourth year of which corresponded to the date of the Aruḷāḷa Perumāḷ temple inscription. As the inscription was indited sometime afer Ravivarman's coronation on the bank of the Vēgavatī in the 46th year of his age (*i. e.* 1312-13), Kielhorn had taken that year to be the second starting point, and assigned the inscription to 1316-17 A. D.[3] This calculation is, however, based on wrong premises, as shown by another record of Ravivarman dated also in his 4th regnal year. The Tiruvāḍi epigraph which registers the performance of the Kumbhābhiṣeka ceremony of the temple of Tiruvīraṭṭāṉam is dated in the fourth year of this king corresponding to Kali year 4414 and the Śaka year 1235 Makara Śu, 11 Saturday, Rōhiṇi. (29 Dec. 1313 A.D.)[4] It is clear from this that the second starting point coincided with

1. K. V. S. Aiyar: Ancient Deccan, pp. 62-3.
2. E. I., iv, p. 146.
3. *Ibid.*
4. E. I. viii, 98.

the year 'following December 29, 1309 A. D.'[1] Therefore, the Arulāḷa Perumāḷ temple inscription must be assigned to 1313-14, and not to 1316-17 A.D.

The circumstances in which Ravivarman felt himself justified in reckoning his regnal years from 1309-10 A. D. are not known. The suggestion of Sewell that 'his coronation as Kēraḷa king took place' in that year[2] cannot be accepted for a moment, as the Arulāḷa Perumāḷ temple inscription makes it abundantly clear that his rule in Kēraḷa began in 1299-1300 A.D. It is not reasonable to suppose that he waited until 1309-10 to celebrate his coronation. An interesting fact which seems to have some bearing on this subject must be noticed here. The Pāṇḍyan emperor Māravarman Kulaśekhara I was assassinated by his son Sundara Pāṇḍya in this year.[3] It may be remembered in this connection that Ravivarman had married a Pāṇḍyan princess; and that he had assumed, in his later records, some characteristic Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya titles sach as Kōnermaikoṇḍāṉ, Tribhuvanacakravarti, etc. All these facts, taken together, produce on the mind the cumulative effect that the assassination of Māravarman Kulaśēkhara I and adoption of a new mode of reckoning the regnal years of Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara are somehow connected.

Another point that stands in need of elucidation is Ravivarman's attitude towards Sundara Pāṇḍya. How were they disposed towards each other ? An epigraph engraved on the base of the Perumāḷ temple at Poonamallee states clearly[4] that Ravivarman had conquered Sundara Pāṇḍya; but unfortunately this epigraph is undated, and leaves us in doubt about the time when Ravivarman secured this victory. It is, however, interesting to note that the dated records of Ravivarman while pointedly alluding to his victory over Vīra Pāṇḍya which resulted in the subjugation of the Pāṇḍyas and the Cōḷas make no mention of Sundara Pāṇḍya. This is, indeed, singular. Sundara Pāṇḍya, it may be remembered, assumed supreme sovereignty at Madura, after assassinating his father in 1309-1310 A.D.; and he was found ruling the city at the time of Malik Kāfūr's invasion in April 1311 A.D. An inscription dated in his 9th regnal year *i.e.* 1311-12 A.D.

1. Sewell, Historical Inscriptions, p. 178.
2. *Ibid*.
3. E.D., iii, p. 53.
4. 34 of 1911.

shows that he was ruling at the time over portions if not the whole of the Tinnevelly distrct.[1] He was, therefore, the immediate neighbour of Ravivarman and must have first come into conflict with him when Ravivarman attempted to conquer the country of the Pāṇḍyas and the Cōḷas. From the statement of the Arulāḷa Perumāḷ temple inscription that Ravivarman defeated Vīra Pāṇḍya, made the Pāṇḍyas and the Cōḷas subject to the Kēraḷas, and, at the age of 46 (*i. e.* 1312-13) was crowned on the banks of the Vēgavatī, two interesting corollaries follow: (1) that, at the time, the countries of the Cōḷas and the Pāṇḍyas right up to the borders of Kēraḷa were in the possession of Vīra Pāṇḍya; and (2) that Sundara Pāṇḍya ceased to have any hold on these countries. How Vīra Pāṇḍya gained mastery over these countries, and what happened to Sundara are explained by Wassāf. Though brief and slightly inaccurate about the date, Wassāf's account throws considerable light on the happenings in the country of Ma'bar subsequent to Malik Kāfūr's departure.

'But, as in every religion and faith, evil deeds produce a life of insecurity, a matter which is unnecessary to expatiate upon, he (Sundara), notwithstanding all the treasures, and the good-will of the army, was far from being happy and prosperous, entertaining crude notions, and never awakening from his dream of pride, and at last met with the chastisement due to his ingratitude, for, in the middle of the year 710, Tīra Pandī, having collected an army, advanced to oppose him, and Sundar Pandī, trembling and alarmed, fled from his native country, and took refuge under the protection of 'Alā-ud-Dīn of Dehli, and Tīra Pandī became firmly established in his hereditary kingdom.'[2]

The date to which this event is assigned by Wassāf is, as already pointed out, slightly inaccurate. The middle of 710 A.H. corresponds, as mentioned in a previous context, to November 1310 A.D.; and as the fratricidal war was still in progress at the time of Kāfūr's invasion, according to Wassāf and Amīr Khusrau, and as Sundara Pāṇḍya was ruling according to Khusrau at Madura, at the time of Kāfūr's attack on that city,

1. 596 of 1915.
2. E. D., iii, p. 54.

Vīra Pāṇḍya's victory over Sundara must be placed at some time subsequent to April 1311 A.D., when Kāfūr retreated from Ma'bar. And as Vīra Pāṇḍya was in possession of the Pāṇḍya and the Cōḷa countries at the time of Ravivarman's invasion which terminated sometime before 29 December 1313, Vīra Pāṇḍya's victory over his brother must be referred to the period between April 1311 and December 1313. An interesting fact which has not been noticed hitherto may be mentioned here. No inscription dated in the 10th year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya who came to power in 1302-3 A.D. has been discovered so far. We have inscriptions dated in his 9th, 11th, 12th, 13th years but not one which can be assigned to his 10th year corresponding to A.D. 1312-13. Vīra Pāṇḍya's victory over Sundara, and the flight of the latter to the court of Sultan 'Alā-ud-Dīn must be very probably assigned to this year.

What benefit Sundara Pāṇḍya had derived by his visit to the court of Dehli is not known. 'Alā-ud-Dīn does not seem to have rendered him any material help. Wassāf who descrbies Sundara's visit to Dehli does not refer to any assistance or the promise of assistance which he obtained from the Sultan. The other Mussalman historians have no knowledge of the facts connected with Sundara's visit; nor do they refer to any expedition which the Sultan sent to Ma'bar after Malik Kāfūr's return.

Sundara had to return from Dehli probably disappointed; but, on his arrival at Ma'bar, he found that during his absence the state of affairs had undergone a radical change. Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara, the ruler of Vēṇāḍ, defeated Vīra Pāṇḍya, took possession of the empire, and crowned himself at Kāñcī. Ravivarman's attitude towards Sundara was not at first probably unfriendly. The inscriptions of Sundara dated in his 11th and 12th regnal years show that his authority was recognized in the South Arcot and Tinnevelly districts.[1] A conflict must have soon arisen between them over the question of their respective status in the empire. This must have precipitated a war which resulted in the defeat and expulsion of Sundara, as mentioned in the Poonamallee record. Therefore, Ravivarman's victory over Sundara must be assigned to the period following the date of his Arulāḷa Perumāḷ temple inscription.

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1. 571 of 1920, 608 of 1918.

III

Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara's rule at Kāñcī did not, however, last long. He was soon obliged to relinquish his imperial designs and retire to his native country. It is generally believed that he was expelled from Kāñcī by Muppiḍi Nāyaka, the general of the Kākatīya king, Pratāparudra.[1] The belief, however, is not based on facts. In the first place, Muppiḍi's invasion came in 1316 A.D., whereas Ravivarman's rule at Kāñcī seems to have come to an end in 1315 A.D.[2] Secondly, the available evidence clearly shows, as will be seen presently, that Muppiḍi did not take Kāñcī from Ravivarman but from the Pañca Pāṇḍyas. Therefore, Ravivarman's retirement from the Paṇḍyan territory was due to causes other than the invasion of the Kākatīya general. There is reason to believe that it was partly brought about by the reconciliation of Sundara with Vīra Pāṇḍya, and their union with the other princes of the family. Two facts must be noticed in this connection: (1) Muppiḍi Nāyaka was opposed by the Pañca Pāṇḍyas, *viz.*, Vīra Pāṇḍya, Sundara Pāṇḍya, Vikrama Pāṇḍya, Parākrama Pāṇḍya and Kulaśēkhara Pāṇḍya. (2) In an inscription of Vṛddhācalam dated in his 13 + 1 year (1316-17), Sundara Pāṇḍya remits certain dues from a number of villages for conducting the service named after Muppiḍi Nāyaka, established in the local temple by his elder brother.[3] Only one elder brother of Sundara is known from the contemporary accounts, and that was Vīra Pāṇḍya[4]. It is also interesting to note that Vīra Pāṇḍya also sustained defeat at the hands of Muppiḍi. The remission of taxes by Sundara for the maintenance of a service founded by his elder brother presupposes the existence of friendly relations between them. A more important cause than the reconciliation of the Pāṇḍyan princes was the recrudescence of trouble in Kērala. Ravivarman, it may be remembered, was at first the lord of Jayatuṅganāḍ. He gained possession of the

1. S. K. Aiyangar: South India and Her Muhammadan Invaders, P. 126; Sewell: Historical Inscriptions, P. 179.

2. 54 of 1908. The latest regnal year found in his inscriptions in the northern districts of the Pāṇḍyan empire is 4+1.

3. 72 of 1918, MER. Part ii, Para. 50.

4. Amīr Khusrau, E.D., iii, 88. Wassāf however makes Sundara Pāṇḍya elder. (*Ibid.* pp. 52-3.)

neighbouring district of Vēnāḍ either by conquest or, what is more likely, through inheritance. This district was conquered during the last quarter of the 13th century by Vikrama Pāṇḍya, younger brother and co-regent of Māravarman Kulaśēkhara I;[1] and was made over to Ravivarman who married his daughter, probably as a part of the dowry.[2] It remained in his possession up to the time of his coronation on the bank of the Vēgavatī, when a rival made his appearance, disputing his right to rule the district. Vīra Pāṇḍya who had been worsted in the struggle with Ravivarman retired to Kēraḷa, and attempted to undermine his power by exciting a rebellion. He proclaimed Vīra Udaiya Mārttāṇḍavarman, a scion of the supplanted royal family of Vēnāḍ, as the ruler of the country, and incited him to overthrow the authority of Ravivarman.[3] The people of the district rallied round the banner of their ancient rulers; and thus while Ravivarman was celebrating with great pomp his triumph on the bank of the Vēgavatī, a serious situation developed in his native Kēraḷa which threatened to destroy the very foundations of his power. To overcome this new menace, Ravivarman was obliged to hasten homewards with his forces, and make an attempt to clear the country of the hostile elements. He was successful in his endeavours at first. He inflicted a defeat on Vīra Pāṇḍya who opposed him at the head of the forces of the Kēraḷas, Pāṇḍyas, and Cōḷas, and forced him to retreat northwards into Koṅkaṇa; he pursued him thither, and having driven him

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1. The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom, p. 190.
2. Līlātilakam (Pisharoti's edition) p. xvi.

Drōṇāya Drupadam Dhanañjaya iva kṣmāpāla bālām balī
Venāṭṭinnoḍayōru Vīra Ravivarmākhyō yadūnām patiḥ|
Pāṇḍyam Vikrama pūrvakam paḍayil veccāṭṭipiḍiccanganē
Pāṇḍyēśāya koḍuttu tasya tanayām padmānanām agrahīt||

I am obliged to Prof. P. J. Thomas, M.A., B.Litt., D.Phil. for having drawn my attention to this verse.

Dr. S. K. Aiyangar who quotes this verse in his learned article on Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara in the New Indian Antiquary (Vol. I, P. 166) makes him marry the daughter of Māravarman Kulaśēkhara. This is clearly wrong; for the simile '*Drōṇāya Drupadam Dhanañjaya iva*' distinctly indicates that the princess whom Ravivarman married was the daughter of Vikrama Pāṇḍya whom he had defeated even as Dhanañjaya had defeated Drupada.

3. TAS, iv, p. 90.

together with a large army into the forests, conquered the northern country. It is interesting to note that Ravivarman had to fight against the Kēraḷas to whom he made the Pāṇḍyas and Cōḷas subjects on a former occasion. This is a clear indication that the Kēraḷas revolted against him subsequent to the time of his coronation on the Vēgavatī. Although Ravivarman chased Vīra Pāṇḍya out of Kēraḷa and Koṅkaṇa, he did not destroy him altogether. Vīra Pāṇḍya, who retired into the forests of Koṅkaṇa, might return again at a favourable moment to renew the contest. The Kēraḷāpuram epigraph of his subordinate ally Udaiya Marttāṇḍavarman Vīra Pāṇḍyadēva dated 14th Feb. 1317 A.D.[1], shows that he did emerge from his seclusion, and make an attempt, not altogether without success, to seize Vēnāḍ once again. The reappearance of Vīra Pāṇḍya in Vēnāḍ, and the success of his protegè Udaiya Mārttāṇḍavarman seem to have summoned Ravivarman again to Kēraḷa. Moreover, Vīra Pāṇḍya appears to have also solicited about this time the help of a powerful ally, Ballāḷa III, who readily responded to his call. The presence of Ballāḷa and his army in the Tamil country at this time is disclosed by the inscriptions. A record of Māgenahaḷḷi in the Chennapaṭṭana taluka of the Bangalore district dated 1318 A.D.,states that Ballāḷa was at that time camping at Aruṇasamudram[2]; this is corroborated by two *vīragal* epitaphs which declare that while Ballāḷa was halting in the said place, he was engaged in warfare in the neighbourhood of Kaṇṇanūr.[3] He appears to have been sojourning here even earlier; for Pedda Rudra, who led the troops of his father Muppiḍi Nāyaka, as far as Gingee early in 1316 A. D., came into conflict with him in this region.[4] The reason for the presence of Ballāḷa III in the Pāṇḍyan dominions is suggested by the epitaph of a hero who perished about this time in a battle near Kaṇṇanūr. It is said that Singeya, the son of Sōmeya Daṇṇāyaka, a *maiduna* or brother-in-law of Ballāḷa III, who was fighting in the army of Vīra Pāṇḍya, was slain by the enemy.[5] The presence of Singeya Daṇṇāyaka in

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1. TAS iv, p. 90.
2. EC. ix. Cp. 73.
3. *Ibid.*, xii Ck. 4; MAR 1916, p. 55.
4. An unpublished inscription at Drākṣārāmam, Mac. Mss. 15-4-4, p. 37. *See* App. at the end of this paper.
5. MAR. 1913, para. 86.

Vīra Pāṇḍya's army, and his participation in a war which the latter was waging against his enemies presuppose the existence of friendly relations between Vīra Pāṇḍya and Singeya's master, Ballāḷa III. It is not unreasonable to assume, in these circumstances, that Vīra Pāṇḍya, in order to dislodge Ravivarman from his dominions, not only helped his friend Udaiya Mārttāṇḍavarman to seize Vēnāḍ, but entered into an alliance with Ballāḷa III, and induced him to march into the Tamil country with his army. The outbreak of a fresh rebellion in Kēraḷa and the arrival of the Hoysala army in the Pāṇḍyan territory must have compelled Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara to give up his ambitious schemes, and retire hastily towards his native country. A record of his 7th year (1317 A. D.) at Tinnevelly which registers the gift of Kuppāyakkuḍi in Anubhōgavalanāḍu to some Brahmans for founding a village shows clearly that he still held sway over the southern fringes of the Pāṇḍyan empire, some two years after his retirement from the north.[1] It completely disposes of the theory that Ravivarman was slain in Muppiḍi Nāyaka's southern invasion.[2]

IV

Vīra Pāṇḍya managed to get rid of Ravivarman Kulaśēkhara with the help of his two allies, Vīra Udaiya Mārttāṇḍavarman and Ballāḷa III, and attempted to establish his authority over the empire; but before he could do this, the peace of the country was again disturbed by another foreign invasion, this time from Warangal.

The causes that led to the despatch of an expedition under Muppiḍi Nāyaka by the Kākatīya Pratāparudra against the southern kingdom are not known. Vīra Pāṇḍya's alliance with Ballāḷa III, and the latter's intervention in the affairs of the Pāṇḍyan empire perhaps roused the jealousy of Pratāparudra. A more powerful cause than this was the need for restoring his authority on the southern frontier. Malik Kāfūr's attack upon Warangal seems to have reduced his military power and lowered the prestige of his government. The petty chiefs who were governing the southern marches threw off their allegiance, and asserted independence. This state of affairs called for a demonstration of military force on the Tamil frontier. Besides,

1. 77 of 1927 MER part ii, p. 68.
2. Sewell, Historical Inscriptions, p. 180.

the desire to revive the Kākatīya rule at Kāñcī, and the need for the acquisition of the required number of elephants to be sent to Dehli as a part of the annual tribute might have also prompted the despatch of troops in the same direction.

Muppiḍi Nāyaka set out with the army probably from Warangal, accompanied by a large number of chiefs including his own son Pedda Rudra, Eṟṟa Dāca and Nalla Dāca of the Rēcerla family, Dēvari Nāyaḍu and Prōlaya Vēma, the founder of the future Reḍḍi kingdom of Koṁḍavīḍu. Though Muppiḍi Nāyaka was formally invested with the command of the expedition, he seems to have left the actual conduct of operations in the hands of his son. The army marched at first into the territory of the Cōḷas of Nellore. Śrīraṅganātha, the ruling chief, who took an active part in the rebellion, claimed their attention first. Pedda Rudra declares that he had frightened Śrīraṅganātha, and scared him away from the battlefield; the Velugōṭivārivaṁśāvaḷi adds that a battle was fought at Nellore in which Rēcerla Eṟṟa Dāca greatly distinguished himself; he is said to have vanquished several Māṇḍalikas, and restored Tirukāḷarāja to the throne of Nellore. Tirukāḷarāja, who had been thus elevated to the throne, must have been a scion of the Telugu Cōḷa family and a rival of Śrīraṅganātha.[1] Pedda Rudra next came into conflict with a chief called Kōṭa Tikka who probably held sway over the southern part of the Nellore district, and slew him with all his followers in battle. He advanced further south into the hilly region around Nārāyaṇavanam in the Chittoor district, and reduced the numerous strongholds with which the neighbouring country was studded to subjection and freed the territory dependent on Nellore from the enemies.

From Nārāyaṇavanam Kāñcī was not far off. But Pedda Rudra did not immediately proceed against the city; instead, he led his troops into the territory of Ballāḷa, which probably lay in the neighbourhood, and forced it to submit to his authority. Pedda Rudra's operations against Ballāḷa naturally drew him on

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1. Mac. Mss. 15. 4. 4, p. 37.
आदावाद्दतभीतिमाजिविमुखं श्रीरङ्गनाथं नृपम्
The Velugōṭivāri vaṁśāvali (Mac. Mss. 15-4-3).
" నానావర్ణ మండలీకరగండ, నెల్లూరి వీరక్షేత్రాణో భారతీమల్ల" "తిరుకాళరాజు రాజ్యస్థాపనాచార్య"

into the interior of the Pāṇḍyan territory and provoked the anger of the Tamil chiefs in the neighbourhood. They seemed to have joined their forces, and opposed his advance somewhere in the vicinity of Gingee, but were, however, defeated in battle.[1] One of the important incidents of the campaign was the capture of the fortress of Gingee, a stronghold of the Sambuvarāyas.[2]

Pratāparudra had no desire to establish his dominion in the Tamil country; therefore, following the common practice of the Hindu conquerors, his commander restored the conquered territory to the vanquished chiefs. Pedda Rudra, having penetrated to the centre ot the Pāṇḍyan empire had to turn round and march towards Kāñcī owing to the muster of the enemy's forces in his rear. The 'Five Pāṇḍyas' gathered together

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1. Mac. Mss. 15. 4. 4. p. 37. (*See* App.)

कृत्वा संयति कोटतिक्कनृपतिं नीत्वा दिवं सानुगम् ।
नानामन्नियदुर्गसान्द्रकलिकं नारायणाख्यं वनं
जित्वा यः क्रमशः हतारिमकरोन्नेल्लूरुदेशं पितुः ॥
भूयो (भूमिं) बल्लभूपतेर्घनयशःशुल्केन चित्तप्रियां
कृत्वा शम्बरिमुख्यमन्नेनृपतिं जित्वा....

Commenting on the name of a tax called '*Vallāḷa dēvar vari*' referred to in one of the epigraphs of the Yādavarāya prince, Tiruveṅgāḷanātha at Tirupati, Sādhu Subrahmanya Sastri opines that it was 'a tribute to the liege lord who reduced the Yādavarāya to submission; and in this particular case, the conqueror was Vīra Vallāḷa, and the tax went by the name of *Vīra Vallāḷa dēvar vari*'. (T. T. Devasthānam Inscriptions, I p. 110). If Tiruveṅgālanātha Yādavarāya who was the lord of Candragiri in the neighbourhood of Nārāyaṇavanam were really a dependant of Ballāḷa, the country of Ballāḷa attacked by Pedda Rudra must have been the principality of the Yādavarāyas.

2. The title of '*Ceṁcumala* or *Ceṁcimala cūṛakāra*' 'the plunderer of the hill fort of Ceṁci' (Gingee) borne by Prōlaya Vēma and his descendants points to some victory which Vēma won at Gingee. As the territories of Vēma were confined to the Telugu country and as he never fought in the Tamil country subsequent to the foundation of his kingdom, the event which justified the assumption of this title must have taken place when Vēma accompanied Muppiḍi Nāyaka's army as an officer in the service of Pratāparudra.

their troops at Kāñcī to defend their dominions. The arrival of the intelligence of the warlike preparations of the Pāṇḍyan kings had probably influenced Pedda Rudra to cry halt and turn back, and march rapidly northwards. When he approached the vicinity of Kāñcī, he was joined by his master Pratāparudra, and they soon came into conflict with the Pāṇḍyan forces. A fierce engagement took place outside the city. 'The Five Pāṇḍyas', Vīra, Sundara, Vikrama, Kulaśēkhara, and Parākrama participated in the battle. The Pāṇḍyan elephants charged the Telugu infantry furiously, and spread panic in the ranks, but the Velamas, headed by their chief Eṟṟa Dāca, as well as the Reḍḍi contingents, stood firm and averted the impending disaster. Eṟṟa Dāca is said to have excited the admiration of the distinguished warriors of Pratāparudra's court by rushing on the leader of the elephant squadron, lance in hand, and checking its progress. This act was the turning point of the battle, and victory soon declared itself in favour of the invaders. It was followed by the fall of the city of Kāñcī and the installation of Māna Vīra as its governor. The identity of the governor is not known, though it has been declared on very inadequate grounds that he was a Telugu Cōḷa prince of Nellore.[1]

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1. EI., vii, p. 128; The unpublished Drākṣārāmam Inscription, Mac. Mass. 15. 4, 4, p. 37. (Appendix at the end of this paper).

The Velugōṭivāri Vaṁśāvaḷi :—

చ॥ వెలయఁ బ్రతాపరుద్రు సభ వీరభటావళి చూడ నాజిలోఁ
జలమునఁ గుంత మందుకొని చయ్యనవచ్చు గజంబు నోర్చి దో।
ర్బల ఘనవిక్రమంబునను బైకొని తా జయలక్ష్మి చేకొనన్
గెలిచెను పాండ్యరాజగజకేసరి దాచయశౌరి పాండ్యులన్॥

మ॥ గరళం బుగ్రతవచ్చు చోట సురసంఘాతంబులో నిందుశే
ఖరుఁడొక్కండును గానవచ్చుఁ గడువీఁకన్ బాండ్య సైన్యంబు భీ
కరమై వచ్చినచోఁ దెలుంగు నవలక్షల్ లోన దెల్లంబుగా
నరలోకోత్తముఁ డెఱ్ఱదాచవిభు గానన్ వచ్చు నాజిస్థలిన్॥

ఉ॥ కంచి సమీపమందు నతిగాఢమహోగ్రతఁ బంచపాండ్యులన్
మించిన విక్రమస్ఫురణ మీఱి విజృంభణ నంచితంబుగాఁ
ద్రుంచి జయించి భూతములఁ దృప్తులఁ జేసె రణంబునందు నా
యంచితకీర్తిహారుఁ డెఱ్ఱదాచనృపాలుఁడు భూతలంబునన్॥

ఉ॥ లాలితశౌర్యశక్తి నవలక్షతెనుంగుదళంబు నాజిలోఁ
దోలిన పాండ్యభూవిభునితోడి పెనంకువ కోర్చి సమ్మతిన్
వ్రాలి ప్రతాపరుద్రసభ వర్ణన కెక్కిన యఱ్ఱదాచ భూ
పాలసుతుండు సింగని కభంగుని కేబిరుదైనఁ జెల్లదే॥

Muppiḍi Nāyaka appears to have left at Kāñcī a part of his army under Dēvari Nāyaḍu, one of the distinguished officers in the service of Pratāparudra, probably to protect Māna Vīra from the attacks of the Pāṇḍyas. Such a protection was in fact needed. The defeat which the Pāṇḍyas sustained at Kāñcī did not shatter their power. Both Vīra Pāṇḍya and Sundara seem to have been making active preparations to expel the Telugu army from their dominions. Dēvari Nāyaḍu was obliged to march against them at the head of his forces. He inflicted a defeat on Vīra Pāṇḍya and his ally the Malayāḷa Tiruvaḍi Udaiya Mārttāṇḍa Varman at the battle of Tiruvadikuṉṟam and seized all their wealth. Next, he turned against Sundara Pāṇḍya and appears to have won over him a victory. Then, he proceeded to Jambukēśvaram on the Kāvērī and recorded his victories on the Pāṇḍyas in an inscription which he caused to be indited on the walls of the temple of Śiva in the place[1]. The Pāṇḍyas were thoroughly subdued, and acknowledged their submission to Muppiḍi Nāyaka by instituting a sandi in his name in a temple at Vṛddhācalam.[2]

V

How long Pratāparudra was able to maintain his old on Kāñcī is not known. The Pāṇḍyan power appears to have been revived in parts of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam. In the present uncertain state of our knowledge of Pāṇḍyan chronology, it is not possible to deduce any historical information from the available epigraphic material. The interval between the departure of

1. S. I. I. iv No. 430, 29 of 1891. I am obliged to Mr. A. S. Ramanatha Aiyar, Assistant Epigraphist in the office of the Superintendent of Epigraphy, Southern circle, Madras, for having drawn my attention to this record.

The name of the Malayāḷa Tiruvaḍi whom Dēvari Nāyaḍu defeated together with Vīra Pāṇḍya at Tiruvadikuṉṟam is lost. There were two princes at the time to whom the appellation, Malayāḷa Tiruvaḍi might apply: (1) Ravivarman Kuleśēkhara and (2) Udaiya Mārttāṇḍa Varman. As the former was a deadly enemy of Vīra Pāṇḍya he could not have joined him. The latter was a friend and subordinate ally of Vīra Pāṇḍya, Therefore, he must have been the Malayāḷa Tiruvaḍi alluded to in the Jambukēśvaram record.

2. 72 of 1918. M.E.R. 1918, Part ii, Para 50.

Muppiḍi Nāyaka and the final subjugation of the country by Muḥammad Tughlaq constitutes the darkest period in the history of the mediaeval Pāṇḍyan empire. Nevertheless, the scanty information furnished by a few Hoysala records of the period, and contemporary notices of the Muslim historians relieve the gloom to some extent. The *vīragal* epitaphs of 1318 A.D., noticed already, allude to the war which Vīra Pāṇḍya was carrying on with the assistance of Ballāḷa III against some unnamed enemies in the neighbourhood of Kaṇṇanūr in the Trichinopoly district.[1] Another record dated 1322 A.D. discloses the names of these enemies. Samudra Pāṇḍya, a son of Vīra Pāṇḍya appears to have revolted against his father, and having allied himself with Parākrama Pāṇḍya, whose seat of government was probably at Madura, marched on Kaṇṇanūr and closely invested the fort. To raise the seige, Vīra Pāṇḍya proceeded against them, accompanied by a Hoysala contingent under the command of Singeya Daṇṇāyaka, the son of Maiduna Sōmeya, the brother-in-law of Ballāḷa III. But in the battle that ensued Singeya was slain, and Vīra Pāṇḍya was defeated. The fort of Kaṇṇanūr fell into the hands of Samudra Pāṇḍya and his ally.[2] It is evident from this that a grim fight still went on among the Pāṇḍyan princes, notwithstanding the lessons taught by the series of foreign invasions that swept over the empire. The malady which had such a firm hold on the members of the ruling family proved beneficial to the petty chiefs. They endeavoured to assert their independence taking advantage of the growing feebleness of the central government. Of these, the most important was Kulaśēkhara Śambuvarāya who cast off his allegiance about 1318 A.D.[3]

While the Pāṇḍyan princes were thus absorbed in the interminable internecine feuds, a second Mussalman invasion reached the country from Dehli. Sultan Qutb-ud-Dīn Mubārak Shāh sent an expedition under the command of his favourite Khusrau Khān to Ma'bar in 1319 A.D., probably with the object

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1. EC. ix, Cp. 73; MAR. 1916 p. 55; EC. xii, Ck. 4.

2. MAR. 1913 Para 86. My grateful thanks are due to Dr. M. H. Krishna, Director of Archaeological Studies, Mysore, for kindly sending me, on request, a copy of this epigraph, for the purpose of consultation.

3. The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom, p. 214.

of reducing it to subjection. Khusrau marched from Dehli and halted for some time at Dēvagiri putting down the rebellion of the governor Yak Lakhy who had recently declared his independence. As soon as he completed that task, he set out from Dēvagiri towards Ma'bar. The events of the campaign, excepting the unfortunate incident of the merchant Sirāj-ud-Dīn Taki Khān, are not recorded. It is said that Khusrau Khān went on plundering the country along his route until he reached the sea.[1] On his approach the rulers of Ma'bar fled from their places carrying away with them their treasures. Khusrau plundered two cities and captured about a hundred elephants.[2] On his arrival at Ma'bar, Khusrau Khān was compelled to remain inactive at Paṭṭan, if Ferishtah can be trusted, for 'about one year' owing to the outbreak of the rains.[3] The governor of Paṭṭan was a wealthy Mussalman merchant called Sirāj-ud-Dīn Taki, who, trusting to his faith, remained in the city, in the expectation of being left unmolested. But Khusrau Khān did not allow himself to be influenced by considerations of religion when he anticipated to gain wealth. Therefore, he seized Sirāj-ud-Dīn with all his family, and appropriated his treasures, de-

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1. 'Īṣāmy; Futūḥ-us-salāṭin:—

Chun ān khān-i-khusrau pas az chand gāh
Ba sūy-i-paṭan rānd yak sar sipāh
Hamy rānd lashkar ba ṣad kar wa far
Hamy tākht itarāf-i-har būm wa bar
Chunān rānd bar Hinduwān be darīgh
Ki dar āb-i-daryā firūshast tīgh

2. Barni ED, iii, 219. Yāhya-bin-Aḥmad mentions a country called Malki (Saitly or Hatly) where Khusrau Khān, while marching towards Ma'bar captured 'twenty elephants, and a diamond weighing six dirm.' (Tarīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi. G. O. S. LXIII, p. 85). Badāoni refers to the country as Maithili and while mentioning the capture of the elephants and the diamond, enhances the number of the former to 920! (Al Badaoni, Rankin's trans. i, p. 286). Ferishtah states that the elephants as well as the diamond were captured in Ma'bar itself. (Brigg's Ferishtah, i, p. 391.)

3. Brigg's Ferishtah, i, p. 391; Barni, iii, p. 219.

claring that they belonged to the Sultan's treasury. When Sirāj-ud-Dīn and his family were brought before Khusrau, he beheld among them the beautiful countenance of the merchant's daughter; and becoming enamoured of her he asked for her hand in marriage. On hearing the request, Sirāj-ud-Dīn felt immeasurably outraged, and considering that death was preferable to enforced compliance took poison and died.[1]

The immense wealth that fell into his hands kindled the flame of ambition in Khusrau's bosom, and he contemplated treason. As the Muslim historians give varying accounts of his intentions, it is not possible to discover what he actualy aimed at. Ferishtah's assertion that 'he proposed to establish himself in the Deccan in an independent sovereignty'[2] is not supported by contemporary evidence. Barni suggests that Khusrau's ambition soared even higher. 'Whilst he remained in Ma'bar' says he, 'he did nothing but plot with his confidants as to the best means of seizing and putting to death those nobles who supported the reigning dynasty.'[3] But 'Īṣāmy declares that Khusrau

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1. 'Īṣāmy; Futūḥ-us-Salāṭīn:

Chu lashkar dar āmad abā dār wa gīr
Shud ān mard bar dast-i-lashkar asīr
Hamu dar Paṭan būd farmān ravā
Ki ham rād būdast ham pārsā
Ba burdand ū rā ba dargāh-i-khān
Hazāre sih chāre shutar bār māl
Zar wa gauhare dukhtare bā jamāl
Chu Khān dīd dar manzir-i-dukhtarash
Nazar dūkht az jumla māl wa zarash
Ba guftā badān mard parhīzgār
Ki dukht-i-khud andar nikā ḥam darār
Chu bashnīd ān mard afzūn girīst
Ba guftā nabāyad azīn bīsh zīst
Ki khwāhad chunīn sufla-i-dukhtaram
Hamān ba ki yakchand zuhre khuram
Shanīdam hamān rūz zuhrē bakhurd
Wa zīn kārvān-i-kuhn kūch kard.

2. Brigg's Ferishtah, i, p. 391.

3. ED, iii, p. 219.

wanted to carry away in a ship all the booty to some distant country, where he would be beyond the reach of the Sultan's arm.[1] Whatever might be Khusrau's real schemes, he completely alienated the feelings of the nobles who accompanied him by his high-handed action. They suspected his loyalty, thwarted his designs, and forced him finally to accompany them to Dehli practically as a prisoner. Therefore, Khusrau Khān's expedition proved little more than a raid which involved the plunder of the outlying districts of the Pāṇḍyan empire. It totally failed to produce any influeuce on the political life of the people.

The history of Ma'bar during the years that followed Khusrau Khān's expedition in 1320 A.D., is enveloped in darkness of Cimmerian intensity. All that is known to us is that the country had passed into the hands of the Sultan of Dehli sometime before 1335 A. D. When and how the country had been subjugated by the Mussalmans is left to surmise. A few facts however may be noticed in this connection.

1. An inscription of Tiruvāmāttūr in the South Arcot district dated in the 14th year of Veṉṟumāṉkoṇḍa Śambuvarāya (1335-6 A. D.) refers to 'an invasion of the Turukkar, *i. e.* the Muhammadans which took place 'in the previous days', and to 'the ruin in the country'.[2] The epigraphist suggests that the Muhammadans might be 'either the followers of Malik Kāfūr, or of the Sultans of Madura.'[3] It must be pointed out that the inscriptions refer to a past event, and as Sayyid Jalāl-ud-Dīn Aḥasan Shāh revolted in 1334-5 A. D., and as he could not feel secure in his position until 1336 A.D., it is very unlikely that the Sultan of Madura could have been the cause of the ruin of

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1. Futūḥ-us-Salāṭīn:—
Chu bar Khān khazāna base jama gasht
Khaiyāle mar ū rā ba khātir guzasht
Hamy khwāst ān ṣāhib–i–inquilāb
Nishīnad ba kishty wa uftad ba āb
Bayābad sar az khusrau–i–nāmwar
Zanad khaima bērūn azīn būm wa bar
Ba ṣadr–i–ṣadūr archa gīrad qarār
Buvad'azm–i–Hindū barah dar farār.
2. 434 of 1904, MER, Part ii, para 27.
3. *Ibid.*

the country referred to in the inscription. The elimination of the Sultan of Madura does not, however, lead definitely to the conclusion that Malik Kāfūr was the author of the destruction; for, since the departure of Kāfūr, the country was successively overrun by the armies of Khusrau Khan and Muḥammad bin Tughlaq. Therefore, the inscription does not enable us to determine the date of the Muslim conquest of Ma'bar.

2. A passage in the history of Barni indicates that Ma'bar was subbued by the Sultans of Dehli sometime before the transfer of the capital to Dēvagiri by Muḥammad bin Tughlaq in 1327 A. D.

'The second project of Sultan Muḥammad, which was ruinous to the capital of the empire and distressing to the chief men of the country', says Barni, 'was that of making Deogir his capital under the title of Daulatābād. This place held a central situation; Dehli, Gujerat, Satganu, Sunar-ganu, Tilang, Ma'bar, Dhur Samundar, and Kampila were about equidistant from thence, there being but slight difference in distances.'[1]

It is evident that Ma'bar was included in the Dehli empire at the time of the transference of the capital to Dēvagiri. As this event took place in 1327 A. D. the conquest of Ma'bar must have been accomplished sometime before that year. This is the upper limit. It is often stated that Malik Kāfūr had established a Muslim garrison at Madura in 1310 A. D. which became the nucleus of the later Sultanate. But this statement is not based on facts. The hollowness of this contention has been sufficiently exposed in an earlier context in this paper; and it is needless to examine it further.[2] It is enough to state that no Muslim historian, either contemporary or later, ever alludes even indirectly to this incident, nor is there anything in the Hindu sources to suggest that there was a Muslim garrison at Madura, since the time of Malik Kāfūr's expedition. Though Kāfūr's expedition added to the already prevailing confusion of the fratricidal war, it did not produce any effect on the political life of the country. Khusrau Khan who came nine years later was not more fortunate. Though he plundered the towns, his

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1. E. D., iii, pp. 238-9.
2. Cf. The Pāṇḍyan Kingdom, pp. 207-8.

progress was completely checked by the internal dissensions in his camp, and he had to return to Dehli without achieving his object. Ma'bar thus remained in the hands of its Hindu rulers until 1320 A. D. Therefore, the Mussalman conquest appears to have been effected in the interval between 1320 and 1327 A. D.

Now, what purports to be the actual date of the Muslim conquest is furnished by the Pāṇḍyan chronicle. According to this work, an army came from Dehli in the month of Āvaṇi of the year Rudhirōdgāri corresponding to Śaka 1246, and 227th year of an unknown era reckoned from the destruction of the city of Kollam; defeated and captured Parākrama Pāṇḍyadēva; and established Muslim government at Madura.[1] The Śaka era is well known, but not so the other. It is not, at any rate, identical with the Kollam era that commenced in 825 A.D. As its 227th year corresponds to Ś. 1246, its initial year must have coincided with Ś. 1019 when the destruction of Kollam, which was the cause for its starting, should have taken place. It is interesting to note in this connection that the city of Kollam was actually destroyed by Naralōkavīra, an officer in the service of the Cōḷa emperor, Kulōttuṅga I.[2] As the earliest mention of Naralōkavīra's exploits occur in the inscriptions of the 28th regnal year (Ś. 1020) of the emperor, it is not unreasonable that the events mentioned therein took place a little earlier. As the initial year of this Kollam *aḻinda* era coincides with the year of the destruction of Kollam by Naralōkavīra, it may be held with reason that he started the era to commemorate this victory over the city. Both dates to which the Pāṇḍyan chronicle assigns the Muslim conquest of Madura work out correctly to May-June 1323 A.D., and as there is nothing improbable in this, it may be tentatively accepted as the actual date when Ma'bar was brought under the sway of the Sultan of Dehli. In that case, the achievement must be laid to the credit of Ulugh Khān, who had overthrown the Kākatīya dynasty and sent Pratāparudra as a prisoner to Dehli in the same year. Parākrama Pāṇḍya who is said to have been carried away to Dehli as a prisoner must be identical with the king of that name who came to power in 1315

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1. Taylor: Hist. Mss. i, p. 203.

2. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri: Cōḷas ii, pp. 21-2; Cōḷa Studies, p. 191.

A.D. An obscure allusion in 'Īṣāmy's Futūḥ-us-Salāṭīn probably refers to the captivity of this monarch.[1]

APPENDIX.

[AN UNPUBLISHED INSCRIPTION FROM DRAKSARAMAM, MAC. MSS. 15—4—4. P. 37].

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY V. RAGHAVAN, M.A., PH.D., MADRAS UNIVERSITY.]

" ....निजगुणलतिनङ्ग(निजगुणलतिका)विकसितविशदयशः-कुसुम....सुरभिकृवारिदन्तको (सुरभीकृतहरिदन्तरो) हरिव(हरिरिव) निरन्तरानुवर्तितदानवारिविभवो भव इव सर्वमङ्गूलिङ्........रितसर्वाङ्गः (सर्वमङ्गलालिङ्गनाङ्कुरितसर्वाङ्गः) क........ १

आसीत्तस्य च कार्यखड्गकरणे(धरणे) विश्वासविश्रामभू(भूः)
(पुत्रः) दक्षिणबाहुदण्डसदृशः सत्या(or तस्या)नुरूपोदयः ।
श्रीमन्निर्मलसोमनाथचरणद्वन्द्वारविन्दद्वये
भृङ्गो मुप्पडिनायकः सुमनसां सङ्कल्पकल्पद्रुमः ॥ २

तस्याभवन्मधुरिवाभिनवः प्रजाना-
मानन्दनीयचरितः पेदरुद्रनामा ।
संवा(पा)दयन् सुमनसामनिशं समृद्धिं
कुर्वन् सदा सुकविरञ्जनमात्मजोऽयम् ॥ ३

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1. In one of the peliminary sections of his work in which Īṣāmy describes the main achievements of the Sultans of Hind, he refers to the capture of the king of Ma'bar.

Nakhustīn ki zad khaimadar Dēvgīr?
Ba-dastē ki shud rāy Ma'bar asīr?
Ki ba-girift az zōr-i-bāzū Tilang?
Ki ba-girift Jājānagar tā ba Bang?

As he enumerates the exploits in a series of questions without mentioning the names of the Sultans responsible for them, it is difficult to discover the identity of the captor of the Rāy of Ma'bar.

पाणा(णौ) बिभ्रद्पाणं(बिभ्रत्कृपाणम्) प्रकटरिपुबलद्रोहणारोहणार्तं(र्थं ?)
घोटीमारुह्य घाटीमहति (घाटीमटति) पटुरयं पेद्दरुद्रस्स रौद्रः ।
तस्मादस्माकमस्मिन् नलमलविरियं(न्नलमलमिति यम्) संस्मरन्तस्त्वरत्त(न्तः)
प्रत्याशू:(शं) प्रत्यरण्यः(ण्यं) प्रतिगिरिशिखरं यद्विपः(पाः or षः) प्रद्रवन्ति ॥ ४

आदावाद्रान्त(द्दत)भीतिमाजिविमुखं श्रीरङ्गनाथं नृपं
कृत्वा, संयति कोटतिक्कनृपति(तिं) गीत्यादिवंशानुगम् (नीत्वा दिवं सानुगम्) ।
नाना" मन्निय "दुर्गसान्द्रकलिके (कं) नारायणाख्यं वनं
जित्वा, यः क्रमशः कृकारि(हृतारि)मकरोन्नेल्लूरि(रु)देशं पितुः ॥ ५

भूयो (भूमिं) बल्लड(ल)भूपते(:) घनयशश्शुल्केन चित्तप्रियां
कृत्वा, शम्बरिमुख्यमन्नेनृपतिं जित्वाथ संस्थाप्य (च) ।
काञ्चीं यः प्रतिपद्य काञ्चनमहि(ही)काञ्चीमिवोदञ्चितां
तत्राराध्य च कामकोटिचरणो(णौ) कामानतो लब्धवान् ॥ ६

पाण्ड्यान् निर्जित्य (विजित्य) समरेण शतं द्विपेन्द्रा-
नासाम्यवस्य(श्य)मिति मुप्पिडिनायकसो (नायकस्य) ।
यथा दृढप्रतिज्ञः
यो वीररुद्रनृपतेः पुरता(तो) व्यतानीत् ॥ ७

सोऽयं काकतिवीररुद्रनृपतेराज्ञां प्रतिज्ञां च तां ८
(The three other lines of this verse are lost).
भूयोऽभिषिच्य निजबुन्निपयःप्रवाहि (?)
नानान्न(न)वीनजयवन्य(जन्य)यशःप्रसूनः ।
अभ्यर्च(र्च्य) यो वरमविन्दत (वीररुद्रे) द्रात् (?)
चै or वै....तदनु मुप्पडिपेद्दरुद्रे(द्रः) (?) ९

द्राक्षारामं विरामं विविधभवबुधोमोहसारं हनाना (?)
वासान्ध्या(आसाद्या)राध्य सद्यो गिरिवरसुतया भीमनाथं सनाथम् ।
सन्तुष्टा(ष्ट)स्तस्य दृष्ट्वा लसदमृतरसासारसर्वातिसारां
मूर्तिं या नित्यमूर्तिं(मार्तिं) हरति विनमतां हर्षमुत्कर्षयन्ती ॥ १० ॥

शाकाब्दे गुणवेदसूर्यगणिते (1243) धर्मान्विते दुर्मतौ
मासे श्रावणिके तृतीयदिवसे शुक्ले च सोमाश्रिते ।

ग्रामं गङ्गवरं सुधर्मविषयेनाद्यङ्किवर्गन्तरे (सधर्मविषयेनादङ्किवर्षान्तरम्)
प्रादान्मुप्पडिरुद्रसैनिकपतिः श्रीभीमनाथाय सः ॥ ११

अस्य ग्रामस्य पूर्वतः इङ्काळविनामा दक्षिणतः काणकिनामधेयः
पश्चिमतः चन्दलूरुः उत्तरतः सोमपुरं नाम क्रमशः ग्रामाः । १२

1. . . . . with the spaces of the quarters fragrant with the flower of his pure fame blossomed on the creeper of his own good qualities, like God Hari eternally intent on giving prosperity to the gods, he who ceaselessly poured out the water for gifts, like God Śiva having his whole body in horripilation by the embrace of Pārvatī, he whose whole body is in exhilaration on account of all kinds of auspiciousness attending him . . . .

* * *

2. He had a son (named Muppiḍi Nāyaka), with prosperity in accordance with his truthfulness, (or equally prosperous), resembling his own right hand, being entrusted with the bearing of and capable of relieving him of his affairs as well as his sword, a bee at the lotus-feet of the pure Sōmanātha, a veritable *Kalpa* tree to the wishes of the good (of the gods).

3. To him there was this son named Pedda Rudra, gladdening his subjects like the fresh spring, always bringing prosperity to the good (to the flowers) and pleasing always the good poets.

4. "Bearing the sword in his hand, this fierce and efficient Pedda Rudra, mounts his horse and attacks . . . . therefore let us have nothing to do with him"—thus thinking of whom their (*i. e.* the enemies') elephants (or his enemies) flee in haste to every quarter, every wood and every mountain-top.

5. Having first frightened and turned away from the battle king Śrī Raṅganātha, having in battle sent to heaven, along with his followers, king Kōṭa Tikka, having conquered the forest region called Nārāyaṇa full of several "Manniya" forts, he (who) gradually made the Nellore territory of his father rid of enemies.

6. He who having made his bride, with the price of ample fame, the kingdom of king Ballāḷa, having conquered and again reinstated the Śambhuvarāya king, reached Kāñcī, shining like the golden girdle of Earth, there worshipped at the feet of Kāmākṣī and obtained his wishes (from Her).

7. "Conquering the Pāṇḍyas in battle, I shall.............. a hundred of their elephants"—as if fulfilling this (vow) of (his father) Muppiḍi Nāyaka, he who (did that) and brought (the elephants) before king Vīra Rudra.

9. [1](Muppiḍi Nāyaka winning battle and earning fame and gratifying Vīra Rudra are here described in terms of propitiation of some deity and getting some boon from that deity.

10. Muppiḍi's pilgrimage to Drākṣārāma is described in this verse).

11. In Śaka 1243, in the meritorious year of Durmati, in Śrāvaṇa month, on the third day of the bright fortnight, Monday, commander Muppiḍi gifted to God Bhīmanātha the village of Gaṅgavara, along with the territories of Dharmaviṣaya and Addaṅki.

12. To the east of this village is the village named Iṅkalavi, Kāṇakī to the south, Candalūru to the west and Sōmapura to the north.

1. Substance of Vs. 8 and 9 is given here.

ŚRĪ PUṞAMBIYAM

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There is a famous verse in the Udayendiram plates of Pṛthivīpati II Hastimalla which runs:

> Yaḥ śrīpuṟambiya mahāhava mūrdhni dhīraḥ
> Pāṇḍyeśvaram Varaguṇam sahasā vijitya|
> Kṛtvārthayuktam Aparājitaśabdam ātma-
> Prāṇavyayena suhṛdastridivam jagāma||

It is agreed on all hands that this verse refers to the death of Gaṅga Pṛthivīpati I. And till recently the battle of Śrīpuṟambiyam was dated in 880 A. D. and the Pāṇḍya Varaguṇa, opponent of Aparājita, taken to be Varaguṇavarman who was the son of Śrī Māra Śrī Vallabha and ruled from A. D. 862-880.

In a recent memoir—"Pṛthivīpati I, Varaguṇa and Aparājita"[1] —Mr. M. Somasekhara Sarma has reopened the question and sought to prove that the battle was fought much earlier than 880 A. D. and that Varaguṇa of the verse cited above must have been Varaguṇa I whose reign extended according to his calculations from A. D. 768 to 818.

The importance of a correct understanding of this celebrated battle can hardly be exaggerated, and it is therefore necessary to examine the arguments on which Mr. Sarma bases his new conclusions.

One preliminary question may be cleared out of the way. Recent studies in Pallava chronology have gone to show that Nṛpatuṅga's reign lasted for some years beyond 880 A. D.; Mr. Sarma gives him the period A. D. 863-888, and this may well be accepted; but considering that the conquest of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam by Āditya I Cōḷa from Aparājita took place about 890 A. D.,[2] it has to be necessarily assumed that the eighteen years or so of Aparājita's rule for the most part overlapped those of Nṛpatuṅga. And if this was so, Aparājita must

1. JOR, ix, pp. 210-237.
2. *Cōḷas*, i, p. 136.

have fought at Śrīpuṟambiyam on behalf of Nṛpatuṅga[1], that is supposing that that battle was fought in 880 A.D. Unfortunately, we have no direct evidence on the relation of Aparājita to Nṛpatuṅga. The dates advocated by Sarma for the later Pallava kings are calculated throughout on the assumptions that the rule of one king came to an end with his last regnal year found in inscriptions, and that his successor began his rule only after the demise of the predecessor. These assumptions may or may not be true, but may pass as working hypotheses. In the case of the Cōḷas where epigraphical evidence is copious, the decisive calculations of Kielhorn showed that overlapping reigns were the rule. And there is no reason to think that this feature was a monopoly of the Cōḷas.

We may now turn to Mr. Sarma's arguments. He asks first: What authority is there for assigning 880 A. D. as the date of the death of Pṛthivīpati I ? The answer is that scholars like Hultzsch, Fleet and Dubreuil, working from different points of view, have reached this date, and it is found to work quite well. In fact, as already observed, we can be sure of any of these dates only as approximations within five or even ten years.

One important link in the evidence relating to the date of Pṛthivīpati I is the fact that he is mentioned in two records from Āmbūr, North Arcot, dated in the twenty-sixth year of Nṛpatuṅga.[2] Mr. Sarma holds that Pirudi-gaṅgaraiyar of these records should be taken to be not Pṛthivīpati I as Hultzsch did, and all the others who have followed him, but Pṛthivīpati II. Why? "Since Pṛthivīpati," says Mr. Sarma, "mentioned in the Āmbūr records of Nṛpatuṅga's 26th regnal year, *i. e.* A. D. 880 (possibly later), and Pṛthivīpati II, son of Māramaraiyar mentioned in the Takkōlam record[3] (assigned to 894 or 895 A. D.) are separated from each other only by a short interval of about 15 years, it is not unreasonable to hold that they are identical." "If this identification be accepted," he adds, "it is impossible that the battle of Śrīpuṟambiyam could have been fought in A. D. 880. Therefore this date has to be rejected."[4]

1. Cf. Sarma at JOR, ix, p. 231;
   contra Pāṇḍyan Kingdom, p. 77.
2. EI, iv, pp. 180-3.
3. Of Āditya Cōḷa.
4. JOR, ix, p. 216.

I do not see why Mr. Sarma should feel disturbed at the shortness of the interval between the Āmbūr records and the Takkōlam record. There should be no difficulty in believing that grandfather and grandson (Pṛthivīpati I and II) were contemporaries for part of their lives, and much might happen, and it seems, in fact, did happen, in the interval of the few years (only five or six years according to Mr. Sarma) betwen the close of Nṛpatuṅga's reign and the date of the Takkōlam record of Āditya. The Pallava power ceased to exist, the Cōḷas rose in prominence, and the feudatories of the former (including Pṛthivīpati II) had to change their allegiance accordingly. Mr. Sarma has somehow convinced himself that "Pṛthivīpati I must have lived long before his grandson Pṛthivīpati II, the vassal of Nṛpatuṅga."[1] This is the root cause of his search for a new date for Śrīpuṟambiyam and a new identification of the Varaguṇa who lost this battle.

But he has not succeeded in his quest. He has landed himself in great, in fact insoluble, difficulties. For if Śrīpuṟambiyam was fought and lost in fact by Varaguṇa I, a glorious monarch who in reality seems to have known no defeat in his long reign, who was Aparājita? Mr. Sarma can only answer: "It is for future research to decide who this Aparājita was",[2] or "the term may be interpreted as a title rather than as the personal name of the king,"[3] a suggestion which to my mind seems to be precluded by the wording of the verse which I think indulges in a play on the personal name of the ally or Pṛthivīpati rather than on one of his titles; and Mr. Sarma is aware that Aparājita is the personal name of the last Pallava ruler overthrown by Āditya I, according to the Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates.

Mr. Sarma quotes my remark: "It seems strange that the victor of Śrīpuṟambiyam appears to have left no inscriptions to the south of Kāñcīpuram," in support of his new position. But I made the remark in the belief that Aparājita had a long reign as sole ruler of the Pallava kingdom after Nṛpatuṅga. And if, as it now seems, Aparājita and Nṛpatuṅga ruled conjointly for several years, and Aparājita was overthrown by Āditya in a few years, two or three, after Nṛpatuṅga ceased to reign, then we

1. JOR, ix, p. 219.
2. *ib.* p. 230.
3. *ib.* p. 230.

may assume that Aparājita was normally ruling over the area from which his inscriptions come, and that, in an emergency, he marched south with his ally Pṛthivīpati I to give battle on the Pāṇḍyan frontier and that his success put off the evil day for the Pallava power by some years.

There is just one more point in Mr. Sarma's argument. In the 18th year of Nṛpatuṅgavarman, a Pāṇḍya Varaguṇa-mahārāja made a large endowment in Tiruvadi.[1] This was doubtless Varaguṇa II. Mr. Sarma argues that as Varaguṇa was the friend of Nṛpatuṅga and a foe of Aparājita, therefore Aparājita and Nṛpatuṅga must have been enemies and their conjoint rule over a common territory becomes inexplicable.[2] This somewhat startling application of the bookish theory of the Maṇḍala on interstate relations is a clear warning against our putting too much faith in our own theories. The Tiruvadi inscription, in fact, fits in very well with the other known facts of the relations between Pāṇḍyas and Pallavas in this period. The Bāhūr plates of Nṛpatuṅgavarman narrate how he gained a great victory in his youth against the Pāṇḍyas on the banks of the Aricit (Ariśilār), also perhaps fought near Kumbhakōṇam, like Śrīpuṟambiyam later. The battle of Aricit must have been towards the close of the reign of Śrī Māṟa Śrīvallabha, and since then the Pāṇḍyas must have recognised Pallava dominance in some way.[3] The Tiruvadi inscription must be taken to belong to this period of subordinate alliance with the Pallavas which must have been irksome to the Pāṇḍyas. Varaguṇa's attempt to shake off this relation which ended in the disaster of Śrīpuṟambiyam came at least eight years later, *i. e.* after the twenty-sixth year of Nṛpatuṅgavarman.

The result of this discussion goes to show the soundness of the chronology and identifications relating to the battle of Śrīpuṟambiyam on which we have been working so far; only the date 880 A. D. for the battle must be treated as a good approximation rather than as an immovably fixed date; and few will yet be prepared to treat many dates in Indian History as anything more.

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1. 360 of 1921.
2. JOR, ix, p. 233.
3. Pāṇḍyan Kingdom, pp. 74-77.

THE BĀLAKṚṢṆA COIN OF KṚṢṆA RĀYA

BY

C. SIVARAMAMURTI, M.A.,

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The year 1515 was an eventful one. The emperor Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya had just installed in February of that year the beautiful image of Bālakṛṣṇa brought away by him from Udayagiri after defeating the Gajapati. The installation was a great and glorious ceremony, and inscriptions incised on the newly erected temple give a graphic description of the wealthy endowments bestowed by the king for the regular maintenance of the daily worship and ritual.

But there appears to have been yet another scene in the glorious drama of the installation of the deity on which proper attention has not yet been focussed. The image of Kṛṣṇa was imprinted on small gold coins to be distributed among the pious old Brahmans that came there to witness the installation. These commemorative coins were to perpetuate the memory of the glorious occasion. The symbol was later used for even the usual coinage, and it became a type.

This commemorative coin type is not unusual. We have for instance the famous Aśvamedha type of Gupta coins. The sacrifice is commemorated by the imprint of the horse on the coin. These coins, at first minted for distribution among the Ṛtviks, Adhvaryus, Hotṛs and a host of other Brahmans learned in the Vedas and Śāstras, were produced later for general use and became a type of coin available for all.

The figure of Bālakṛṣṇa on Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya's coins has been described so far as that of Durgā and it has been called the Durgī type. The presence of the conch and discus on either side of the figure has also been explained on that score. But a closer examination of the figure and a comparison of it with the Bālakṛṣṇa for whom Kṛṣṇa Rāya built the special temple, which, though mutilated as a result of vandalism after the battle of Tallikōṭa, is now preserved in the Government Museum at Madras, reveal the identity of the figure on the coin.

A fine sketch of a typical coin of the type (No. 175) is given on p. 152h of Elliot's *Coins of Southern India*. This can well be compared with the Bālakṛṣṇa image. The Madras Museum has a number of coins of this type which were used to illustrate the paper on that coin type by the late Mr. Srinivasaraghava Aiyangar who, like some writers before him, held the view that the figure represents Durgā.[1] The coin has been discussed and re-discussed for about a century and each writer has given his own identification of the figure on the obverse. Bidie and Elliot took it to be a representation of Durgā. There is, however, one coin (No. 175) that Elliot considers has seated Lakṣmī with Śaṅkha and Cakra on the obverse. It may be noted that the only female deity entitled to the conch and discus is Durgā. Hultzsch has taken this figure to be a representation of Viṣṇu.

But the most puzzling identification seems to be that made by Father Heras who, disappointed in his hope to see in it the portrait of Kṛṣṇa Rāya himself, presumes the figure to be that of a sannyāsin whom Kṛṣṇa Rāya seated on his throne for a short time.[2] The coin, he thinks, is commemorative of that event. The figure is taken to be that of a woman by Mr. Srinivasaraghava Aiyangar. His description runs:—"A woman-like form is seated over a pedestal with the right leg folded and the left leg bent and kept erect. The right arm is bent and a ball-like thing is seen in the right hand. The left arm is stretched and is supported by the left knee. Bangles are worn on the two wrists and there are bracelets on both the upper arms. A zone of beads is worn round the waist." The description is correct so far as it goes, but the treatment of the torso which is suggestive of a woman is not peculiar to that sex in Vijayanagara coins, a fact clearly brought out by the Umāmaheśvara type of coin. If the figures are to be judged by the torso, both Śiva and Umā would be female figures which one obviously is not. This is just a conventional mode of representation where the chest is modelled by means of two small spheroids and the stomach by a third and larger one. In another and cruder variety of the so-called Durgī coin, even shoulder joints, elbow joints and knee-caps have such

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1. Varāhas of Kṛṣṇa Rāya of Vijayanagara, Jour. Ind. His., Vol. VIII, pp. 353-356.

2. A new Pratāp of Kṛṣṇa Deva Rāya of Vijayanagar, Jour. Ind. His., Vol. VII, p. 34-35.

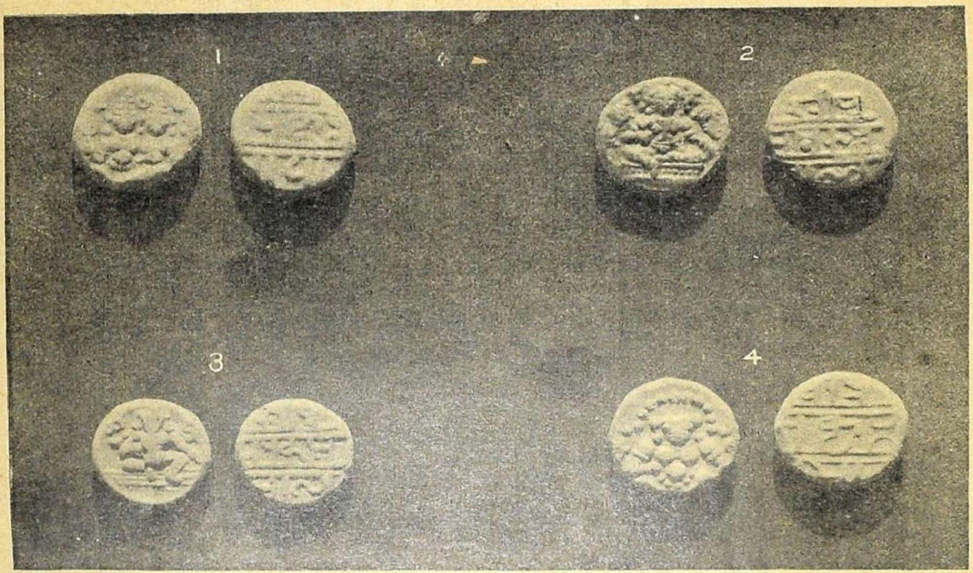

Fig. I

No. 1. Umāmaheśvara coin of Kṛṣṇadeva Rāya, in the conventional style referred to on p. 223.

No. 2. Bālakṛṣṇa coin in which the figure is seated as in the image taken from Udayagiri to Hampi.

No. 3. Bā'akṛṣṇa coin in which the figure is seated with the left leg hanging down.

No. 4. Cruder variety of same coin.

All the coins are from the Madras Museum collection, casts of which were kindly prepared and given me by Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan, Curator, Numismatic Section, to whom I am very thankful, and to Dr. F. H. Gravely, Superintendent of the Museum, for permission to publish them.

Fig. II
Bālakṛṣṇa from Hampi.

ball-shapes to represent them. The "ball-like thing" in the right hand of the figure is actually a butter ball, making Mr. Srinivasaraghava Aiyangar's strained explanation that it is "the head of a human being which is usually carried by Durgā" unnecessary. The zone of beads around the waist is significant in the case of a baby boy in India. Father Heras is correct in saying "that the figure is nude", in spite of Mr. Srinivasaraghava Aiyangar's objection, but he is certainly not correct when he says that it is the figure of a man. Baby Kṛṣṇa seated on a pedestal with a butter ball in his right hand, the left resting on his left knee is just the form of the figure from Hampi; and, as already stated, the clue to the identification of the figure on this coin is to be sought in the image of Bālakṛṣṇa from Hampi, though in the coins it is not always the right leg that hangs as in the figure, but sometimes the left instead.

Kṛṣṇa Rāya's devotion to Veṅkaṭeśvara, in whose temple a bronze likeness of himself accompanied by his queens eternally adores the Lord of the Seven Hills, is indubitably revealed in the figure imprinted on his double pagodas. It is not difficult to see the occasion that caused the issue of the coin representing Bālakṛṣṇa which, minted by Kṛṣṇarāya for commemorating a great event, continued thereafter as a coin for general use and became very popular.

OBITUARY.

We have heard with great regret the passing away of the veteran scholar Mr. K. G. Sesha Aiyar, Retired Judge of the High Court of Travancore on the 26th of June 1938. Though by profession he was a lawyer and later filled the high office of a Judge of the Travancore High Court with distinction, he pursued, as a second interest in his life, the study of Sanskrit and Tamil literature. He was an erudite scholar in Tamil and made careful research in many problems relating to chronology in Tamil literature. He had contributed many articles and gave solutions to many problems. In his death the world of scholars has lost a scholar of great learning ripe wisdom and long experience. He was, from its inception, a member of the Editorial Board of our Journal and took a keen interest in its progress. The Journal had always profited by his wise guidance and advice and it is our duty to express our sincere condolences to the members of the bereaved family, especially to his son, Mr. K. S. Gopala Aiyar.

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